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A Journal of Opinion

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It's About Time

Edward R. Stettinius, Undersecretary of State, is to go to London for conversations with the British government. Among the subjects that will admittedly be discussed are the work of the Permanent European Committee, Italian politics, the production and distribution of oil and international postwar economic activities as they are affected by Lend-Lease. Presumably the negotiators will also talk about Poland and Russia, armistice terms to Finland and Bulgaria (if these are still current topics), the Russo-Polish frontier, the appeasement of Franco, recognition for the French National Committee, and a clear and decisive line on the fascist governments of Argentina and Bolivia. On nearly all of these subjects, the British government seems to be much more positive and much more liberal than the United States. On a number of them, our government apparently is either unable to make up its mind, or upsets the British by insisting on a policy of appeasing the fascists which has long been inappropriate to the facts. The only exception of which we can think at this moment is the Badoglio-Emmanuel regime in Italy. Churchill in his recent report on the war displayed a degree of friendliness for the Badoglio government which disconcerted and alarmed liberals all around the world. Now, "dope" stories from Washington say that our State Department wanted to get tough with Badoglio, and was just on the point of insisting on doing so, when Churchill made his speech.

We hope these stories are true and that the American government will now exert pressure on the British accordingly.

Dismembering Germany

A subject of great importance to be discussed at London is what to do with Germany after the war. Both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden have said the Atlantic Charter does not apply to her. Russia definitely proposes to give Poland some German territory—presumably part or all of East Prussia—in exchange for the land she will take from the Poles east of the Curzon Line. There are rumors that the Big Three decided at Teheran to dismember Germany, and The London Times takes these rumors seriously enough to publish a full-dress editorial strongly protesting any such action. A sharp distinction can and should be drawn between the Russian proposal for taking away some of East Prussia, and any plan to break Germany up into a group of small states. If East Prussia, or part of it, were given to Poland, and the Germans in that territory were settled somewhere else, not at their own expense, a good many problems would be solved, including the old one of the Polish Corridor. New problems would certainly be created, of course, and the question is whether the gains from the proposal would offset the losses.

This is quite different, however, from dismembering Germany in her entirety. Such action would make every German the undying, implacable enemy of the Allies. It would end all hope that we could find within Germany, and work with, men of democratic instincts who could create a new, civilized country to live in peaceful harmony with the rest of Europe. It would guarantee a third world war just as soon as the shattered enemy had time to recoup his losses and set his diplomacy at work driving wedges between the United Nations.

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Mr. Roosevelt Should Speak Out

It is time to admit the blunt truth that we are now failing pretty dismally on the political front. There are some deep differences of opinion dividing Messrs. Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt; and it is obviously better to get on with the war than to turn aside and start fighting among ourselves over those issues which cannot now be reconciled. But there is a large area not affected by these disagreements, where the most urgent effort should have been made long ago to come to understandings and to use those understandings as a diplomatic weapon against our enemies.

So far as can be discerned, almost nothing of the kind has thus far been done. Either we have gone back to secret diplomacy with a vengeance, or we are neglecting several highly important problems—or perhaps a mixture of both. We continue to ask for "unconditional surrender"; and it is desirable that the enemy should lay down his arms without stipulating terms. (We haven't been very consistent about this, however; at Cairo, we gave Japan a set of terms. Russia has given Finland a set of terms.) But our demand for unconditional surrender doesn't mean that we should not give the enemy any inkling of the kind of world we propose to make, and his role in it. As a matter of fact, we are already doing this, but by indirection and clumsily. The Germans have excellent access to our press; when The London Times demands that Germany should not be dismembered, the enemy knows at least that dismemberment is under serious discussion.

It is easy to see why Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin have each, for various reasons, hesitated to describe this war in any sort of idealistic terms, or to say for what kind of world we are fighting. We believe, however, that as far as Mr. Roosevelt is concerned, the time for silence has passed. It is absolutely imperative that the Americans, at any rate, should have a definite assurance that our government will do everything in its power to keep this war, now that it is no longer a mere battle for survival, from degenerating into a struggle for the maintenance of the status quo, to turn it, as far as is humanly possible, into a war for the deepening and extension of democratic principles and for permanent peace.

Massacre by Bombing

The pacifists and clergymen who have protested against the bombing of German cities have a case, but it is not the kind of case they set forth. Any humane person must shrink at the horrors of war, and especially of war as it is now carried on. We don't like the thought that German men, women and children are being killed, maimed and rendered homeless. We don't like the thought, either, that millions of American young men in the armed forces are in danger of being killed and wounded, and are killing and wounding others. In short, we detest war. But there are times when war cannot be ended by detesting it. People now alive are in one of these tragic periods. Those who take up arms to end aggression by others against humanity must do what is necessary to win. Then they must make as sure as they can that war does not occur again.

This does not mean that every atrocity and cruelty is justifiable in a justifiable war. There is everything to be said against bombing defenseless people merely to instil terror in them; one of the things to be said is that there are narrow limits to its effectiveness. But, so far as we are aware, this is not the practice of the RAF and the AAF. They are bombing cities which are essential centers of arms manufacture and transport. They are bombing the factories, docks, railroads and warehouses in which war work is carried on. If, as is inevitable in such attacks, civilians suffer, they are in large part civilians who take this essential part in total war. It is late in the day to appeal to the codes of warfare appropriate to the romantic times when war was a sort of game carried on by professional soldiers, and "non-combatants" had no part in willing the war, in carrying it on, or in willing its end.

Nazism at Home

One of the reasons free men despise the Nazis is that they suppress scientific truth when they do not like it. Another is that they preach racial superiority. Representative May of Kentucky has not actually burned any books, but he has performed the American equivalent of Nazi intolerance in campaigning against the pamphlet issued by the Public Affairs Committee on "The Races of Mankind." The Public Affairs Committee has no axe to grind, but conscientiously tries to inform the public about important facts, as accurately as scientific research can discover them. The pamphlet in question did not, as he says, describe "Northern Negroes as the equals in intelligence of Southern white men," although that in cases is true; some Negroes are the equals in intelligence of men of any race or region. What it did do was to make plain the scientific conclusion of anthropologists and biologists that no scale of inferiority or superiority can be discovered on the basis of race alone; variations within races, plus environment, are the chief factors in this matter.

Mr. May claims the credit for stopping the distribution of this pamphlet in the army; the War Department asserts that it was held up before Mr. May protested. If so, the army authorities who took the action are equally reprehensible. Of course the army as a bureaucratic institution cannot be expected to assault domestic prejudices with as much courage as it displays against the foreign enemy, but our military authorities have been far behind the British in the political education of soldiers which makes them good fighters in this kind of war.

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Dividing the Italian Fleet

Ten days ago, American newspapers were complaining that President Roosevelt never gave an authoritative inside picture of the war, as Mr. Churchill does. Today some of them are objecting loudly to the President's revealing important news casually in a press conference. In the interval, Mr. Roosevelt had lightheartedly tossed off the news that the Italian fleet is to be divided three ways among Russia, Great Britain and the United States. The news caused a sensation around the world; the Badoglio government promptly threatened to resign over it, which would certainly be a happy end to an awkward muddle.

The President omitted from his offhand statement the most important fact: whether the ships would be manned by Italian crews or those of the other three nations. If the former, not even the Italians could have much legitimate objection. If the latter, they will be bitter and there will be a long delay while Allied sailors are trained to operate Italian machinery.

Turkey's Neutrality

Allocating Italian ships to Russia brings into the foreground again the question of Turkish neutrality. As a non-belligerent, it is illegal for Turkey to permit ships to go through the Dardanelles into the Black Sea, where they would be of most use to the USSR. The British and Americans say that the Turks have let them down by failing to join the war, and they are retaliating by stopping all Lend-Lease shipments to her. The Turks reply that they would be glad to join the war on our side if we would live up to our promises and send them 500 tanks and 300 planes. If that is all that is keeping Turkey out, the matter should be readily solved. It is hard to believe, however, that the problem is so simple, when we remember her desperate efforts to stay neutral ever since the war began. If she is now willing to come in, it is another sign of the growing conviction among all European neutrals that Germany is losing the war.

Veto Called For

If both Houses of Congress pass a soldiers'-vote bill as bad as the one produced by the joint committee, we hope President Roosevelt will veto it. It is a disgraceful fraud upon the soldiers; few if any more of them could and would vote under such a measure than would be helped by last year's law, which will remain in effect if it is not superseded. It is probably true that more than 50 percent of the soldiers would vote for Mr. Roosevelt for a fourth term. It is also true, however, that the onus of not letting them vote is clearly upon the Republicans and the reactionary Democrats—who together form the New Party, or the Rankin Republicans. The country knows this, and we believe that the President would gain more votes than he would lose, by vetoing this measure which shamelessly seeks to disfranchise ten million Americans. But even if he didn't, we think he should veto the bill anyhow. This seems to us to be one of those cases where principles override any question of expediency.

Let the Civilians Vote, Too

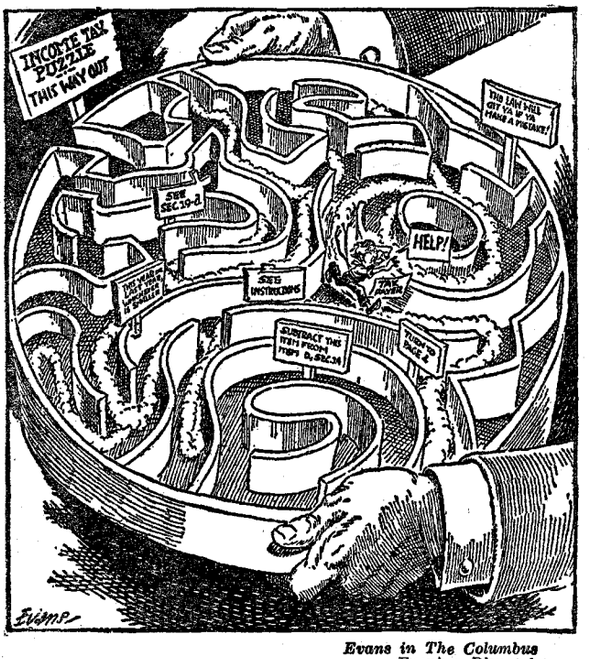
Apparently the soldiers' vote and the poorest man's vote are not all that poll-tax congressmen like Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia fear. Virginia is in the process of passing legislation which would require any person coming into the state after January 1, 1945, "who desires to gain a residence as to the right of suffrage," to file a declaration of intention to vote one full year before he will be allowed to exercise this right.

This measure is aimed primarily at keeping the vote away from the thousands of new residents of the Eighth Congressional District, which Howard Smith is now supposed to represent, who are mostly government employees living across the Potomac from the Capital. According to The Richmond News Leader, which condemns the proposed law, these new Virginians "are regarded as temporary, unwelcome and politically alien," by the old political machine.

This discriminatory bill has already passed the lower house of the Virginia State Legislature. It is hard to believe that the citizens of Virginia are so anxious to safeguard Howard Smith's seat in Congress that they will allow their representatives to sacrifice this basic part of our common freedom.

Armistice Terms for Finland

Before Russia announced her armistice terms for Finland, those American papers which seem more interested in fighting the USSR than they are in fighting



Evans in The Columbus Evening Dispatch

Round and Round—Etc.

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Germany, indulged in a savage orgy of hate-Stalin propaganda. They predicted that Finland was about to disappear down the throat of the Russian bear. But the actual terms didn't live up to the advance advertising. They proposed a restoration of the 1940 frontier; German troops in Finland to be interned; United Nations prisoners of war and civilians to be released. If these terms seem harsh, we wonder what would seem reasonable. But we know the answer; nothing would seem reasonable to the I-hate-Russia boys.

Finland was still sparring for time, at the end of the week of March 6. With more than 100,000 German soldiers still on her soil, her problem is a difficult one, and it may prove that she postponed a decision in order to give the Germans time to get their troops out of the country. In any case, however, it seems probable that she will soon be out of the war and the whole military situation of the United Nations in Northern Europe will be vastly bettered.

The Far Eastern Muddle

As the war reaches its climax, in both hemispheres, the political problems are becoming more serious. Much has been heard about these political problems in relation to Europe—in France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece and along Russia's western frontier. It is not so well understood that political problems of great intensity are also developing in the Far East.

One of these is the difference of opinion between the British and the Americans over the strategy to be pursued in Southeastern Asia. It is no longer a secret that the American General, Joseph W. Stilwell, has been severely critical of the policies of Lord Louis Mountbatten. General Stilwell, and the Chinese, want a large-scale attack on Burma at the earliest possible moment with the idea of reopening the Burma Road as quickly as it can be arranged. They are deeply disappointed that such an attack has not been made sooner, in view of the fact that the approaching monsoon season will presently bring operations almost to a halt. The British in general have favored only a limited offensive in Burma. Their probable strategy is to capture the Andaman Islands, thus partially or completely sealing off Rangoon, and then go on to take Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Singapore.

Some Americans (though such views must not be attributed to any individual) believe that the British are subordinating military strategy to the political aim of reconstituting the British colonial empire. They say that in spite of the bad terrain in Burma, the quickest way into China is to reopen the Burma Road, rather than to try to go around Thailand and up through the South China Sea to Canton. They ask whether the British are not reluctant to let Chinese troops come down from the north into Burma to meet the Anglo-American-Indian troops coming up from the south, because they fear the influence of the Chinese on the Burmese desire for independence. These Americans argue that it is imperative to reopen a land route into China through Burma before attempting any landing on the Chinese coast. We can't send in by airplane enough military supplies to do the Chinese much good; and it is vital that a strong, well equipped Chinese force should come down to the sea and support our beachheads when they are effected. Otherwise, to hold these beachheads would require such powerful support from the sea that we might about as well use the fleet to attack Japan herself.

No doubt there is great significance to the presence in Washington of several high officers from the China-Burma-India war theatre. President Roosevelt is evidently attempting to reconcile the conflicting views of the British and American forces. It should be noted of course that over-all strategy is not made in India, but by the Combined Chiefs of Staff in Washington. Perhaps the fundamental question is whether that strategy has been based primarily on military considerations or on political ones.

Both military and political considerations are involved in the other great question of the Far East, which is the strength and the general attitude of the Chinese government at Chungking. There are unconfirmed reports that in the conference at Cairo, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill told Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that the Burma Road cannot be reopened and China made strong in a military sense until the Chungking government has come to an understanding with the Chinese communists.

The general position in China is a pretty dark one, and it is no service to the cause of the United Nations to pretend that it is not. When the Japanese seized the coastal areas, the Kuomintang lost most of its middle-class support, including the majority of those persons who would be called liberal democrats in any Western country. It was thrown back upon the landlords and provincial governors of the interior, and Chungking has now taken its color from them. The government is riddled with inefficiency and corruption, and this fact has increased the great loss of life, which would have been inevitable under any circumstances, in the famine. But what is more important is the fact that the central government appears to be more concerned at present with fighting the Chinese communists than it is with fighting the Japanese. While the struggle against the Japanese has practically come to a standstill, many thousands of Chungking's best troops are kept idle on the borders of the northwestern area, where the communists control a district with a population of some 50,000,000 people. Some American observers recently returned from China believe that the Chinese communists, in spite of their limited resources, are at the present doing more against the Japanese than is Chungking.

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This is an unhappy situation, and American policy, regrettably, is probably making it worse. Presumably our government has felt that it must deal only with the recognized Chinese government, though it is barely possible that we may be engaged in a worldwide policy of antagonism to what are assumed to be Soviet Russia's postwar plans; at any rate, all our help has been given exclusively to Chungking. But unfortunately, you cannot operate in a political vacuum. It is generally assumed in China that the United States is committed to the permanent support of the Chungking government, no matter how venal, inefficient and reactionary it may become. This has at least two bad effects: it makes Chungking feel that it does not need to put its best foot forward; and it alienates many of the best of the Chinese, who feel that the present government is in no sense a legitimate heir to Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

It is well to remember that the Chinese communists are such only in a very loose sense. Were it not for the value of going institutions and continuing labels, they could more appropriately call themselves the Chinese democrats. They are not under Moscow's influence, except when their wishes happen to coincide with those of Russia, and they are quite capable of taking a completely independent line of their own. Their main political objectives are putting an end to landlordism, and aiding education and industrialization.

The United Nations' policy toward Yugoslavia might well be used as a precedent for China. In Yugoslavia we dropped Mikhailovich and gave support to Tito when it became clear that Tito was fighting the Germans and Mikhailovich wasn't. Obviously, we should not drop Chiang Kai-shek; but we might well say to him that our main business is to win the war as quickly as possible; that to do this we need every able-bodied Chinese soldier who can be put into the field; that his troops who are on guard against the communists should now start fighting the Japanese; that the communists should be armed with what they require and drawn into the general anti-Japanese strategy.

No doubt Chiang Kai-shek would reply that the communists want to take over China; that after Japan is defeated they will seek to start a civil war; and that it would be folly to put weapons into their hands to be used for this purpose. But again, the answer is that the communists are being found guilty before trial. If China is to stop being a one-party country, as Chiang himself recently promised, there is no reason why the communists should not become the Left party, represented in a coalition government, just as they were before the war in various European countries. The Chinese communists are a menace only to a country conducted on totalitarian lines, where grinding poverty is the lot of the great majority. In so far as China moves toward democratic principles, the conflict between the communists and Chungking will be moderated.

It is obvious that this war cannot be made into a war for democracy, purely and completely, all over the world and at once. Our first task is to defeat the Axis, and for that purpose we must have the help of allies who are in varying degrees sympathetic to democratic principles. In Latin America, there are some pretty shady characters on our side. The Winston Churchill group in England is frankly imperialistic; Soviet Russia has economic democracy but not political. But this does not mean that we should not strike a blow for democracy when we can. If Britain wants to reconstitute her empire before defeating Japan, we should oppose that policy. If in China Chiang Kai-shek is using our help to enthrone reaction at the expense of the war, our pressure should be the other way. We can't say we believe in our own system and at the same time, whenever a choice is possible, turn our backs on it, all over the world.

Danger in Mexico

THE THREAT OF civil war in Mexico is more imminent than ever. Encouraged by the successful fascist revolts in Argentina and Bolivia, and exploiting such wartime difficulties as the steadily rising cost of living and increasing shortages of consumption goods, the Union Nacional Sinarquista, Mexico's turbulent fascist movement, has recently intensified its drive for the conquest of governmental power.

We have repeatedly warned in these pages against the danger which the Sinarquistas represent to Mexico's peaceful, democratic development and to continued friendly relations between Mexico and the United States. But in spite of the overwhelming evidence of the Sinarquist threat, next to nothing has been done by either the Mexican or the American government to curb the frankly anti-democratic, pro-Axis activities of this fascist mass organization. The only effective opposition to the Sinarquistas has come from the Confederation of Mexican Workers, which has built up its own militant formations to defend the promise of the Mexican Revolution.

But if the maintenance of democratic institutions is left exclusively to private groups opposed to fascism, civil war seems almost inevitable. This is of course precisely what the Mexican fascist-makers want. Because popular support of the Mexican government is strong, and because a coup d'état on the common Latin American pattern, as recently engineered by small cliques in Argentina and Bolivia, is a practical impossibility in Mexico, they have developed the Sinarquistas as a mass organization on a broad popular base. The war and the need for national unity do not seem to have interfered with the growth of the Sinarquistas. Only a few months ago, Torres Bueno, supreme Sinarquist chief, told the United Press that his organization now has 900,000 active, disciplined male members, an increase of 400,000 over 1940.

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Mexico's present political situation is very much the same as in Spain prior to the civil war of 1936-39. The failure of Republican Spain to liquidate the fascist threat through the application of legitimate governmental power, and the Republican government's reliance on private organizations to combat fascism, contributed to creating the tense situation which culminated in the Franco rebellion. Had the Republican government taken strong defensive measures before it was too late, the civil war might have been avoided.

To a large extent the Mexican government's hesitancy in taking preventive measures against Sinarquist plotting has been due to our own government's tardiness in exposing and possibly restricting the sinister activities of the organization's local branches in the United States. It is to be hoped that Attorney General Biddle's recent blast against the Spanish Falange will soon be followed by an equally forceful warning to the Sinarquistas. We believe that such a step would be welcomed by the Mexican government as an indication that it can count on our support in case of a Sinarquist attempt to overthrow existing democratic institutions and usurp power. It might also suggest to certain politically minded Catholic clergymen in this country, who have lately given much moral comfort to the Sinarquistas, that their words and deeds in favor of Mexican fascism are contrary to our democratic public policy.

Death on the Road

THOSE AUTHORITIES, like the Automotive Safety Foundation, which concern themselves with death on the highways, are now greatly disturbed about the rising tide of automobile accidents. For the last few months, the number of dead and injured has been steadily increasing. The gains that had been made during several years before the war are rapidly being wiped out. If the present trend continues, without any acceleration because of traffic congestion, we shall in another 15 years be killing 80,000 annually, and seriously injuring more than ten times that many, in motor accidents nearly all of which are avoidable.

The number of serious accidents decreased during the war, but only because automobile driving went down—from 500,000,000,000 passenger miles to half that number. The accident rate is rising again for a series of reasons. One is that cars are being used somewhat more freely than they were a year ago. Bad tires or other types of car disrepair bear some responsibility, though less than you might think. Road disrepair is also responsible. There are more people walking on the highways than ever before. Twenty-four-hour shifts in factories have produced much more night driving than in the past. Soldiers on furlough sometimes drive great distances at high speed.

Did the reduced speed limit cut down accidents? Not appreciably, according to the experts. They add that high speed, while a factor, is not a tremendously important one.

The three lines to be pursued in reducing motor accidents are, so the experts say, engineering, enforcement and education, and they are important in that order. Engineering means building roads that are foolproof, with the smallest possible number of grade intersections, with lanes so limited that it is impossible to turn suddenly from one to another, and with adequate acceleration and deceleration strips. Enforcement means that the roads must be patrolled by a proper number of policemen who have been properly trained; that motorists should be fined as a deterrent to wrongdoing—not unjustly fined in order to raise local revenue. Education means that no one should drive a car who has not learned how to do so properly. At the present time, one-half the drivers in the United States have never had an examination for their fitness; they were automatically given licenses when state laws were passed. Two states, Louisiana and Wyoming, are still in the disgraceful situation of having no examination for a driver's license; as someone has said, you can go from a kiddie-car to the wheel of an automobile. The experts say that everybody should be taught, preferably in school, how to drive properly.

The main point to impress on the public is that there is no royal road to automobile safety. Persuading people to take the pledge to drive carefully is not of much use, nor is any other single device. You need a combination of many approaches. It is high time, however, that we should begin to think about the extremely serious problem that will exist after the war. The grim jest, "When the boys come home, the casualties will begin," is not so far from sober earnest when we realize that even during the war, more Americans died last year from preventable automobile accidents than from enemy action.

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Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, MALCOLM COWLEY, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY, ISAAC ROSENFELD

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, VARIAN FRY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

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Sedition Trials: 1944

THE FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT in Washington, D. C., will soon be the scene of one of the most sensational, but salutary, trials in the history of American civil liberties. From the great amount of publicity that has accompanied the recent indictment of thirty native fascists for conspiring, with the German Nazi Party, to undermine the loyalty and morale of the armed forces of the United States, it may be predicted that the eyes of the nation will turn to the capital when the case comes up for trial.

The trial will take place in a social context that is strikingly different from that of the First World War. The contrast proves that democracy can fight total war and yet preserve the essentials of liberty. The country, as reported in June, 1943, by the American Civil Liberties Union, "in World War II is almost wholly free of those pressures which in World War I resulted in mob violence against dissenters and hundreds of prosecutions for utterances; in the creation of a universal volunteer vigilante system, officially recognized, to report dissent to the FBI; in hysterical hatred of everything German; in savage sentences for private expressions of criticisms; and in suppression of public debate of the issues of the war and peace. . . ."

In the last war almost all civil-liberties cases involved members of the extreme Left, while today most sedition cases are directed against extreme Rightists, or better, native fascists, except in the Minneapolis Trotskyite case. In the last war no connection existed between the alleged seditionist and the military enemy. The modern fascist seditionist is closely associated with the enemy's organizational and propaganda efforts. Fascist techniques of obstructing the war are altogether different from the comparatively primitive methods used last time by the anti-war agitator. The fascist seditionist does not openly advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence, but cleverly disguises his anti-democratic intentions behind a barrage of invective against imaginary enemies, vicious England, traitorous Communists, international bankers, Jewish stooges, etc. His purpose is to sow confusion and create racial, religious and political disunity.

In general, advocates of unpopular causes ought not to be prosecuted unless their activities create a "clear and present danger." It is difficult, however, to apply this policy with exactness in the case of sedition involving support of Nazism, which brought about the rise and triumph of the organized lie as an instrument of political persuasion. It seems obvious that one must assume a "clear and present danger" in the case of individuals definitely connected with the enemy.

The healthy restraint of legal action in the domain of civil liberties during the present war is chiefly the result of the vigorous steps taken to preserve these liberties by Attorney General Francis Biddle after the outbreak of hostilities. As early as December 17, 1941, Biddle, intent upon preventing war hysteria from infecting the administration of justice and guaranteeing a uniform application of the sedition statutes, issued an order to United States Attorneys all over the country to the effect that "prosecutions of persons arrested for alleged seditious utterances must not be undertaken unless consent is first obtained from the Department of Justice." A few days later, on December 21, 1941, Biddle, explaining why his department had dropped complaints against three native fascists arrested for alleged seditious utterances, declared that "free speech as such ought not to be restricted."

The Attorney General's tolerant attitude apparently only emboldened native fascist circles. But by spring of 1942, continued fascist agitation and increasing liberal pressure called for action on the part of the Department of Justice. The decision to differentiate between genuine isolationism and legitimate democratic criticism, on the one hand, and sedition, on the other, could not be put off very much longer. On April 18, 1942, Biddle stressed the need for finding out "if there has been a systematic propaganda that has tied up regularly with the Axis effort." He frankly admitted that to define the point where legitimate criticism of the government ends and sedition begins, is "a most difficult, a terrible problem." On April 23 Biddle announced that sedition inquiries would be pushed in New York and Chicago. Some native fascists—Robert Noble, Ellis O. Jones, William Dudley Pelley and George W. Christians—were indicted in short order. Father Coughlin's Social Justice and Court Asher's X-Ray were banned from the mails. But no clearly defined definition of sedition had yet emerged, though it soon appeared from pending cases and the Attorney General's statement that association with the enemy might be an important consideration.

Meanwhile the American Civil Liberties Union had adopted its wartime policy on sedition. The Union pointed out that our country's enemies are now using techniques of propaganda which "may involve an attempt to pervert the Bill of Rights to serve the enemy rather than the people of the United States." The Union therefore decided not to participate, except where the fundamentals of due process are denied, in cases in which there are grounds for believing that "the defendant is coöperating with or acting on behalf of the enemy, even though the particular charge against the defendant might otherwise be appropriate for intervention by the Union." Specifying what it meant by coöperation with the enemy, the Union declared

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that it would consider such matters as "past activities and associations, sources of financial support, relations with enemy aliens, the particular words and conduct involved, and all other relevant factors for informed judgment."

This was roughly the situation in regard to sedition and free speech when on July 24, 1942, a grand jury, which since October, 1941, had been sitting in the District Court in Washington, returned the first indictment in the Winrod case. Gerald B. Winrod and his co-defendants, among them some outstanding native fascists, were indicted for violation of the sedition sections of the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Alien Registration, or Smith, Act of 1940. The charge was that they had conspired to undermine the loyalty, morale and discipline of the military and naval forces of the United States. The application of the peacetime sedition clause of the Smith Act made it possible to trace the alleged conspiracy back to June 28, 1940. Underlying the indictment was an attempt to show that the defendants had *individually* conspired to disseminate Nazi propaganda for the purpose stated in the indictment. Little evidence was offered in the indictment of direct contact between the Nazi propaganda machine and the defendants. All emphasis was on the unmistakable identity of statements made by the defendants, in word and writing, with Nazi propaganda themes.

The weakness of the indictment prevented the case from coming to trial. The official explanation for the need of a new indictment was that five additional defendants were to be named. In reality a frantic effort was made to tighten up the indictment. The second indictment was returned on January 4, 1943. It traced the conspiracy back to January, 1933, the time of Hitler's usurpation of power, named Ulrich Fleischhauer, publisher of the Nazi propaganda sheet, World Service, in Erfurt, Germany, as co-conspirator, and presented some additional evidence of Nazi connections.

The indictments had been prepared for the Department of Justice by William Power Maloney. Perhaps one of the reasons for the weakness of both indictments was that they had been hastily drawn up. But there are more technical reasons which, since new indictments have been prepared, need not be discussed in detail. The objections were sufficiently serious to cause the actions just reported to be taken. The deepest criticism of all was the lack of a watertight definition of sedition. Senators Wheeler and Nye and Representative Hoffman fully exploited the situation, clamoring that the indictments were directed against the defendants not for violating the sedition laws but for being isolationist.

On February 7, 1943, Mr. Biddle appointed O. John Rogge as government prosecutor. Rogge, an experienced trial attorney, had made a name for himself by smashing the remnants of the Huey Long machine, for tax evasion. Grand-jury proceedings were reopened in October and the final indictment was returned on January 3, 1944. The new indictment avoids earlier mistakes. It openly names as co-conspirators the National Socialist German Workers' Party, which "came into power in Germany upon a program publicly announced by its leaders to destroy democracy throughout the world and to establish and aid in the establishment of national socialist or fascist forms of government in place of the government then existing in the United States of America and other countries." It points out that the Nazi Party "carried on a systematic campaign of propaganda designed and intended to impair and undermine the loyalty and morale of the military and naval forces of the United States and other countries." And it asserts that the defendants "joined in this movement and program and actively coöperated with each other and with leaders and members" of the Nazi Party to accomplish its objectives in the United States.

In contrast to the earlier indictments, the third named as new defendants some of the most prominent native fascists, such as Lawrence Dennis, author of "The Dynamics of War and Revolution" and other books, and Joseph E. McWilliams, organizer of the Christian Mobilizers and one of the most eloquent "führers" in the native fascist movement. It excludes some of those previously indicted, among them William Griffin, publisher of The New York Enquirer. Equal protection under the law seems assured by the inclusion of all those engaged in similar activities.

The third indictment also indicates a clear conception of the nature of the foreign principals in the conspiracy, by naming in addition to the Nazi Party the German Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, the German Library of Information in New York, the League for Germandom Abroad, the German Foreign Office, the German Embassy and consulates in this country and a number of other German propaganda and front organizations. This formulation of the principle of conspiracy precludes the charge that the indictment is directed against isolationism as such.

A precise definition of sedition has been employed. For sedition there must be intent and a good chance of success. A seditious statement must be capable of causing sedition. In other words, intent of sedition can be drawn from an utterance only if the propagandist clearly advocates a course of action designed to undermine the loyalty and morale of the armed forces. In the Winrod case, intent is inferred from Nazi connections, since, as the indictment charges, it was the aim of the Nazis to impair the loyalty and morale of our army and navy. There was a good chance for the success of the conspiracy, as a Nazi victory was certainly not out of the question at the time when the conspiracy took place. Because the bulk of the overt acts took place before the outbreak of war, the third indictment relies exclusively on the Smith Act of 1940 to bring about conviction.

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There are some danger points in the Winrod case. While it will serve to expose the intricate network of Nazi propaganda warfare, it fails to establish a definition of sedition for cases in which foreign connections do not exist or cannot be proved. Moreover, the indictment fails to distinguish between democratic and anti-democratic propaganda and activities by reducing the threat of *native fascism* to a threat of Nazism. But this is, of course, primarily due to the inadequacy of available statutes.

Is the Winrod case, as it crystallizes in the present indictment, a violation of civil liberties? I think it is not, provided jury, court and prosecution conduct themselves on a high judicial plane, provided intent is clearly shown by both utterances *and* connections, provided the elements of conspiracy are amply demonstrated, and provided reasonable overt acts in violation of the relevant statute are clearly proved. While I do not believe, therefore, that the application of the Smith Act in the present case is a violation of the Bill of Rights, I am fully aware that some of its sections, particularly those dealing with the questions arising out of the Winrod case and the question of overthrow of the government, are a serious threat to civil rights or, more concretely, to progressivism and even liberalism. This possibility was evident in the Trotskyite case in Minneapolis, which suggests how tenuous our civil liberties are in the face of political pressure as long as the Smith Act is on the statute books.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

Jim Crow in the Army[1]

> I am a Negro soldier 22 years old. I won't fight or die in vain. If I fight, suffer or die it will be for the freedom of every black, any black man to live equally with other races. . . . If the life of the Negro in the United States is right as it is lived today, then I would rather be dead.
>
> Any Negro would rather give his life at home fighting for a cause he can understand than against any enemy whose principles are the same as our so-called democracy.
>
> A new Negro will return from the war—a bitter Negro if he is disappointed again. He will have been taught to kill, to suffer, to die for something he believes in, and he will live by these rules to gain his personal rights.

STATEMENTS LIKE THESE are found over and over in the hundreds of soldiers' letters received by organizations defending the rights of the colored people. It is impossible to read a dozen of these letters picked at random without feeling their tragic significance. The war attitude of the Negro reflects today's dilemma of his race, in an intensified and critical form. The Negro soldier is deeply patriotic, vividly conscious of our aims in this war, eager to get into the fighting areas. That seems an ideal attitude for a soldier to have, but the truth is that the morale of the colored men in our armed forces is far from ideal. For they are not allowed to express their patriotism, their democracy and their militancy freely. They have fought bravely in every war, from the Revolution on, but still they are not treated like Americans.

The sense of being excluded from the mainstream of military service is expressed in their letters in phrases like these: "We really have nothing to soldier for." . . . "It is not like being in a soldier camp. It is more like being in prison." A soldier at an air base wrote: "Segregation in the Army is making enemies of the Negro soldier, demoralizing him. You may wonder why they don't rebel. They do, but individually, and as a result, they are either transferred to Southern parts, placed in the guardhouse or given a dishonorable discharge from the army. . . . We keep constantly in mind that army law is WHITE man's law."

The very set-up in our various services proves that a race that has been three centuries on our soil is still considered Negro, rather than American. The fault is not in our pronouncements but in our practice. The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 said distinctly that there shall be no discrimination against any person because of race or color.

How is this principle reflected in military practice?

The Navy has refused to commission Negroes in any branch of service—in the Navy proper, the Marine Corps and the Coast Guard.[1] While it has admitted Negroes to its fighting ranks, Jim Crowism is practised in training and in service.

The Air Corps has discriminated against Negroes in the most complicated and costly way, building a segregated air base for Negroes when there was room in established training centers over the country. The annual output of Negro pilots was 200 when it could easily have been five times that number.

The Army trains and commissions colored and white candidates without discrimination, but Jim Crow rules over every Southern camp.

Colored women are excluded from every auxiliary service but the Wacs, and here there is segregation.

[1] The letters quoted in this article are in the files of organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. For obvious reasons the names and addresses of the senders are withheld. It is the policy of these organizations to forward copies of letters making serious charges to the proper authorities for investigation. Thus many of the conditions described in the actual letters quoted, or scores of similar ones, have been authenticated by high military and civil officers, and in some cases have been corrected. – L. B. M.

[1] On February 15, 1944, since this article was written, the Secretary of the Navy announced that 22 Negroes will be commissioned.

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With the Army calling for thousands of nurses, they have held down the quota of colored nurses to about 200.

Briefly this is the set-up. It reflects no policy on the part of our command, for the simple reason that no policy exists. It reflects merely today's confusion and the inherited tradition of our services from the prewar days when Southern officers in the Army and Navy had a good deal to do with molding attitudes. The Negro serviceman feels that the general pattern he must follow is this: to be barred from the sea and the air except on "their" terms; to serve on the land mainly in labor or "service of supply" battalions; to endure Jim Crow in every guise, from subtle slights to brutality and death at the hands of both peace officers and military police; to be kept on American soil and excluded from combat service as long as "they" can contrive retraining, or transfer, or some other run-around; in combat service to be kept if possible behind the lines and always out of the headlines, the newsreels and the glory; to come back as a war casualty and find Jim Crow waiting in most of the hospitals in the South.

The racial attitude of the military is a curious anachronism. Despite the gains made on the civilian front in race relations during the last two decades, actual conditions in our camps, most of which are unfortunately in the South, show a reversion to dark and ignorant prejudice. A corporal writes from the Deep South: ". . . It is no secret that the Negro soldier in the South is as much persecuted as is his civilian brother; the conditions existing in this Godforsaken hole which is Camp . . . are intolerable, and may be considered on a par with the worst conditions throughout the South since 1865."

Certain inequalities may not seem important until you think what they mean to the soldiers: post movie theatres and post exchanges barring Negroes in some camps and segregating them in others; guest accommodations for whites only in Southern camps; the fact that in many parts of the South Negro MP's may not carry arms as the whites do; exclusion from the white USO even when none exists for the colored men; overwhelming and widespread troubles about transportation in buses and trains. Candidates for commissions in a few of the training schools may eat, sleep and study together without regard to color—but what then? The white officer is soon sent overseas, the colored officer is apt to be transferred to another camp for "further training." The practice seems to be to keep the Negroes, as far as possible, from overseas duty, to use them at their lowest rather than their highest skills and to retard promotion.

Segregation is the deepest issue between whites and blacks in the services. It is made more bitter by the fact that North and South as well as white and colored are thrown together in the camps and bases. Northern-born Negroes are appalled at meeting Jim Crow on his home ground for the first time, and as a rule the Northern whites are also shocked. But Southern Negroes crossing the Mason-Dixon Line for the first time are confused by the comparative freedom of conditions in the North and West; it is claimed that they become demoralized. Southern white officers and trainees coming North often turn into rabid missionaries for "keeping the niggers in their place."

The soldiers ponder and write a good deal about this crisscross. A private at an air base in the Pacific Northwest writes: "The next sore spot that may respond to lancing is the attitude of the Southern-born or (climate of opinion) Commanding Officers. They try to impose a Dixie viewpoint on a democratic community."

A white boy from New York who had never thought much about racial problems wrote from a Southern camp:

> I feel bitter towards the South and the Southern boys. I used to think that when one talked about the Civil War being fought all over again it was a gag. Not any more. We just had another discussion about the Negro situation. It seems to be the big thing around here. Some Southern boys do believe that the Negro should be treated as a man. They say: "Give them education, give them all the rights we have, but always remember that a white man is always better than a colored man. Let the white man live in one place and the Negro in another." . . . A boy runs into a brick wall when he talks to a Southern boy about the Negro.

From a colored officer in the Deep South:

> The only desire the Negro officers could possibly have is to get completely out of the South. Many of us have never been below the Mason-Dixon Line, and are now being subjected to chain-gang practices and disgraceful and embarrassing verbal abuse. . . . No nursing or recreational facilities have been organized for us. . . . To go to a nearby city is to invite trouble, not only from civilian police but more often from the military police, who are upheld in any discourtesy, breach of discipline, arrogance and bodily assault they render the Negro officers.

Another young white officer, born in the North, made it a point to discuss race relations with hundreds of men, white and black, gathered from every part of the country at a Southern camp. He reports some reactions:

A white private from Virginia: "Gosh, I just had to salute a damn nigger lieutenant. Boy, that burns me up."

A professedly progressive school-teacher from North Carolina: "Give the Negroes equality of opportunity by all means—by themselves."

A technical sergeant from Texas: "You people up North want to change things overnight. You are heading for a revolution."

The segregation question will be a burning postwar issue. Meanwhile our High Command has the Supreme

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Court behind it. It has voided laws creating Negro districts in cities, but upheld those compelling separate railroad accommodations, declaring that segregation is not discrimination when the facilities offered both races are substantially the same. Taking the same ground, the Interstate Commerce Commission recently dismissed a complaint filed by eighteen Negro seamen against the Atlantic Coast Line. The men asked for "a bold declaration that segregation in and of itself today must be regarded as constituting an unlawful discrimination." That puts the Negro attitude on segregation in a nutshell. The Commission responded, "What complainants asked us to decide is in its essence a social question and not a question of inequality of treatment."

This makes it lawful, if somewhat grotesque, for incidents like the following to happen. On a crowded troop train going through Texas the colored soldiers were fed behind a Jim Crow curtain at one end of the dining car. In the main section, along with the white folks, a group of German war prisoners dined—and no doubt fed their illusions of race superiority on that Jim Crow curtain.

The assignment of Negro units in the Army to menial jobs is a widespread practice. Colored inductees go to camp for military training and find themselves assigned to service units—cooking, shoveling coal, waiting on the white officers. Entering service, they may find themselves building the Burma Road, or African bases, or encountering winter temperatures of 50 degrees below zero hacking the Alaska Highway or the Canol pipeline out of the Canadian wastes. Meanwhile white units trained at the same time are in the fighting war, where the Negro longs to be. "The sight of masses of Negro soldiers constantly blocked off into separate groups and assigned to menial jobs," a white officer writes, "generates in the mind of the average soldier a powerful feeling of superiority and of being 'different'."

A highly trained Negro technologist turned up in the psychotic ward of a hospital. His Army service was picking up papers around the officers' quarters in a Southern camp. When he was transferred to radio work his mental troubles vanished. Another inductee, a brilliant bio-chemist, had a fantastic Army career. At the reception center on the Pacific Coast the officers proposed to use his years of medical training to the Army's advantage. He was sent to Camp A for training and assigned to a post in the biological laboratory. Before he could start work he was shipped further east to Camp B, and enrolled for technical training as an armorer. He passed this course with high honors, and was promptly shipped to Camp C—farther west—classed as corporal and assigned to the Army Air Forces. A week later he found himself at Camp D in the Southwest, assigned to labor detail. That meant losing his corporal's stripes gained in another division. He wrote his wife:

> I find that this post is the "Port of Lost Hope." . . . Merciful God, I have not been so close to loss of faith as I am at this moment. . . . All this build-up for something to respect, only to be treated like a brainless gorilla fit for nothing more than a post-hole digger and a stringer of wire, a yard bird. . . . I swear if this was Guadalcanal or Australia or North Africa I would expect nothing and would give everything, even my life. . . . It is mockery, let no one tell you differently, this sudden opening up of the so-called exclusive branches of the services to Negroes. We are trained, become skilled—and then the oblivion of common labor.

It is no secret that the Air Corps wished no Negro inductees. But it was forced to let the color bar down late in 1940 and created ten "Aviation Squadrons (Separate)" which served no specific military need and were assigned to whatever odd jobs of common labor the various air fields could offer. There was no equivalent white organization and these Negro units would probably never have come into existence but for the necessity of making some provision for the Negroes enlisted in the Air Forces.

The Air Corps began by training Negroes for combat aviation in only one branch—pursuit flying. A segregated base was set up near Tuskegee Institute and advanced training was at Selfridge Field. Pursuit flying is the most difficult type of combat aviation. Perhaps the Air Corps was paying tribute to the Negro; possibly it was trying to discourage him. In any event, the pursuit flyers not only made good in training, but the Ninety-ninth Squadron, the first and only one sent abroad, has won special praise from Secretary of War Stimson and others for its fine spirit and the specialized dive bombing the men were called upon unexpectedly to perform when the squadron was on loan to the British Eighth Army in Italy.

In 1943, schools for bombardiers and navigators were opened to Negroes and the first squadron, known as Squadron 10, was graduated on February 26, 1944, at Hondo, Texas, and will now receive training as bombardiers.

In some respects the Navy, with its ancient and Southern-gentleman traditions, tallies with the policy of the modern Air Command. Between 1922 and 1942 Negroes were "the chambermaids of the Navy," acting as stewards, chefs and messboys. Several months after Pearl Harbor the Navy broke down and admitted colored men as apprentice seamen with the chance of becoming petty officers. It has let down the bars to women—but no dark-skinned women. There are no colored Waves, Spars or Marine Corps Auxiliaries. And since no Negro could be commissioned up to a few weeks ago, there are no Negro chaplains in the Navy.

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The Navy trains its seamen in a Jim Crow station near the Great Lakes Naval Training Station. In creating this new all-Negro camp it was thought fitting to name it for a seagoing Negro, and history provided the name of Robert Smalls, a hero of the Civil War. Smalls was a slave who served as pilot of the Confederate gunboat Planter. Early in the war he and his Negro engineer smuggled their families aboard while the white captain was ashore at Charleston. Smalls took the gunboat through the Confederate blockade and delivered it to the Union officers at Port Royal. He was commissioned in the Navy and served for the duration.

At Camp Robert Smalls the colored men took their boot training with no hope of being commissioned like Smalls. Their chief comfort is their white commander, Lt.-Comdr. Daniel C. Armstrong, whose father founded Hampton Institute and brought him up to understand race problems.

It is reliably reported that a large proportion of the Seabees, a remarkable new arm of the service, is colored. Much of the work is stevedoring and the building of naval bases and many of the Negroes who enlisted after Pearl Harbor are highly skilled artisans, college and technical-school graduates. Racial discrimination is thinly camouflaged by ratings—the Negroes, whatever their qualifications, are kept in lower grades and the men are segregated by grades, not by color. Recently fifteen Negro Seabees who had worked more than a year constructing a naval base in the Caribbean were dishonorably discharged as "unfit." Their real offense was telling their battalion commander, in what he assured them was an off-the-record consultation, that they objected to the Jim Crow conditions at the construction base.

The fact that no Negroes have been commissioned in the Marine Corps and the Coast Guard has not discouraged many youngsters who see a chance for adventurous and tough service in these branches. If they want higher pay and complete surcease from Jim Crow, they join the Merchant Marine. Since the Navy is out of the picture, any Negro who has served fourteen months on a floating unit may enter an Officers' Candidate School in the Merchant Marine. At present three merchant ships with mixed crews are commanded by Negroes—the Booker T. Washington, the Frederick Douglass and the George Washington Carver.

It is hard to decide which is more cruel—this new pattern of murdering the ambition, the skills, the high potential contributions of the gifted Negro, or the old pattern of physical brutality which the Negro-baiters and Klan agents use against the colored man in uniform. Soldiers of both races have been killed in camp riots which have grown out of unequal conditions and mounting tensions. But the Negro soldier is much safer in camp than in some Southern towns or on common carriers. He "finds himself not only outside the protection of the law but even the object of lawless aggression by the officers of the law," in the opinion of Judge William H. Hastie, former Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, who felt it necessary to resign his high post in protest against the Air Corps policy toward Negroes.

For instance, last Memorial Day at Centerville, Mississippi, the local sheriff intervened in a minor fracas between a white MP and a Negro soldier whose offense was having lost a sleeve button. The two were fighting things out, with the other MP's and the Negro's companions holding back. When the MP began to get the worst of things, he yelled at the sheriff, "Shoot the nigger." The sheriff fired point-blank at the Negro's chest, then asked the MP, "Any more niggers you want killed?"

Another ugly story based on the sworn testimony of eyewitnesses concerns the murder of a colored private in Hampton, Arkansas, last spring. He was trying to protect his sister from assault by a white man who was drunk. A deputy sheriff intervened, and though it was the white man who attacked him, it was the black man who was shot. The deputy sheriff was never apprehended.

Buses and trains mean even more to the Negro soldier than to the white in parts of the country where there is no local Negro population, and he must travel far, or else hope for a visit from his family, in order to mingle with his own kind. The soldiers' letters describe endless troubles with buses and trains. Even when they are being transferred as troops, they are often refused service in the railway restaurants and go hungry for twenty-four hours. The wife and two babies of a Negro chaplain traveled three days to join him without being able to buy anything but cold milk and sandwiches. One gentle little Negro woman, whose soldier-husband was refused coffee at a bus terminal, delivered a sermon to the snappish counter-girl. "Our boys can fight for you," she said. "They are spilling their blood for you on the battlefield, yet you can't serve them a cup of coffee." But the management still refused the coffee. "May the Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do," she said in a quiet tone as they turned and left.

From 1770, when the colored boy Crispus Attucks fell in the Boston Massacre, down through the Battle of San Juan Hill and the Meuse-Argonne offensive, the colored Americans have been collecting their traditions of war and their flags and decorations and trophies. As far as we will let them, they are fighting as Americans today, and yet they are fighting with a difference. This, from a soldier's letter, expresses what is in their hearts: "Those of us who are in the armed services are offering our lives and fortunes, not for the America we know today, but for the America we hope will be created after the war." LUCILLE B. MILNER

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Yanks in Britain

THE U. S. ARMY is not in Britain to promote Anglo-American relations. It is here to take its own strong part in destroying fascism. It is here to relieve Britain of the threat which has hung over her for the last four years. To the British people every additional American soldier seen in the streets is an additional reason for anticipating an early end to the war. But the presence in these islands of several million American soldiers is bound to have a permanent influence upon the future relations of our two peoples.

Perhaps the generals at H. Q. European Theatre of Operations, United States Army, know how the doughboys feel about Britain. Perhaps the chiefs of the Wartime Social Survey at the Ministry of Information know how the British feel about the Americans. But outside of official circles there is no ordinary American soldier, no ordinary British citizen, who can safely generalize about one of the great social experiments of the war.

A friend of mine who is an American officer summed it up by saying that he was surprised, considering the inherent difficulties, that it had worked out so well. He meant that he had expected more friction and, particularly, less good feeling on the part of the British than he had found. What was he thinking of when he referred to "difficulties"? Well, he was thinking first of the hostility which most members of one nation feel for the members, in mass, of another nation. People tend to be prejudiced about those who have different habits and different ideas. Refugees commonly have a tough time because their strangeness arouses just this irrational prejudice. You in the United States have different habits from us over here and maybe many of you feel about the war in Europe much as some British feel about the war in the East.

My friend was thinking too of the heightened competition for girls. There are, in this country, probably more Americans between the ages of 20 and 30 than there are British men of the same age. And the Englishman of any age who is cut out by the competition is likely to feel sore. But above all there is the difference in pay. Below are some of the basic monthly rates of pay compared in dollars at the official $4.03 to the pound. The United States rates include the 20-percent addition to base pay received by enlisted men serving abroad. The British rates do not include the sixpence (10 cents) a day postwar credit which will not be paid until after the war.

	United States Army	*British Army*
Privates	60.00	18.34
Corporals	79.20	30.59
Sergeants	93.60	42.76

The comparison is even more unfavorable to the British than appears because there is a higher proportion of NCO's in the United States Army and cigarettes and other extras are very expensive for the British soldier; his pack of 20 standard-size cigarettes costs him, at a *reduced* rate, 30 cents.

Increases in the pay of British servicemen have frequently been demanded and, regrettably, almost as frequently rejected by the government. Increases are now being pressed for as a means of reducing the above inequality. On January 20, 1944, Mr. Shinwell, MP, raised the question in the House of Commons. Mr. Attlee, the Deputy Prime Minister, replied, "I am sure that my honorable friend realizes the practical impossibility, where various countries with different rates of pay and different costs of living are meeting together, to adjust them all together. It is quite an impossible proposition."

Yet the British soldier feels that something should be done. He is jealous of his American brothers-in-arms. Even the better-off British civilians fear the boosting effect on prices and consider that many of the Americans seem to have too much to spend—in pubs, on their girls, in the restaurants; and when the civilians see one American in uniform spending his money unwisely they tend to attribute the fault to all American soldiers. What they don't realize is that Americans need more money, as they don't know their way around and, unlike British soldiers, have no homes and friends to go to on their furloughs.

Is the problem insoluble? The dominion governments have at least made an attempt to alleviate it. An unmarried private soldier in the Canadian Army Overseas receives the following rates of pay, in Canadian dollars:

On enlistment	$1.30 per day
After four months' satisfactory service	1.40 per day
After further two months' satisfactory service	1.50 per day

The monthly pay of the private, after six months' satisfactory service, is thus $45.60. If, however, the unmarried private is not making an assignment of pay, he is required to defer $20 per month, provided his daily rate of pay, after addition of tradesmen's rates, is not in excess of $1.70. In these circumstances he only receives $25.60 a month. A sizable part of the pay of Australian and New Zealand soldiers is also deferred, only to be given after discharge [two lines deleted by censor].

What my American officer friend meant was that he was surprised, after taking such difficulties as these into account, that the Americans and British were getting on so well. Certainly hundreds of thousands of Ameri-

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cans have made fast friends with British people, and hundreds of thousands of British have made fast friends with the Americans who are soon to be launched on the biggest campaign of the war. But there is no cause for satisfaction. Winning the peace, no less than winning the war, will call for the utmost friendly co-operation between the British and American peoples. The great opportunity for learning about each other and for building mutual respect offered by the presence of so many Americans in Britain should be seized. [Four lines deleted by censor.]

London MICHAEL YOUNG

A Few Minutes in Omaha[1]

WHEN WE LEFT DENVER it was very warm and our gas masks were hung neatly on the small hooks near the upper berths. When the train started at last the clothes swung evenly and gracefully, giving the car an inward motion of its own, securing us in our own little place in the long car. The last sun had set behind the last mountain in the west and then we were racing east with it, out of the last hills of Colorado, across the broad flatlands of Nebraska. We peered into the inky darkness, intently and ceaselessly, as if there was someone just outside the window ready to shake our hand to welcome us into this shadowy land. We said: there is no worry: we are safe. No longer were we fledglings trying our wings in the new dark. No longer the hurried expectancy, the glamor of new clothes, the frantic talk. We were safe and secure. We are welcome, we said.

During the night the men sat quietly and talked and looked blankly through the windows at nothing. Down the row of seats the motion held: the soldier slowly turning the pages of Amazing Stories, the lethargic game of black jack, the volume of Milton somehow carelessly pushed into the middle of the aisle, and at the end, Lieutenant Grimes, fresh and green, sat regally in his private compartment. When he walked in the aisle his bars, polished to an incredible brilliancy, blinked wildly through the dim light of the car. The rest of his person was of the same refulgent polish: the bright, red face, the buckle, the slicked black hair. And when he sat down he carefully pulled the crease of his trousers in and up, smoothing out the many small wrinkles. He never crossed his legs.

Rosenfeld, the mad Russian, sat with me at the far end of the car. He cursed continually about life, the situation of the world, the army, and second lieutenants in particular, often lapsing into a strange and wonderful language which I'm sure was not his native tongue. But it was interesting in a weird sort of way, and effective. He never sat quietly, but was forever moving and talking, removing bits of clothing until at various times he was practically naked and the Lieutenant would come striding down the aisle, his Miami tan still deep and crusty, to tell Rosie to "get those damn clothes on." Rosenfeld would mumble incoherently, violently pick up a GI shoe and glare furiously at the Lieutenant, who would then stride back to his compartment, dazzling and bright, his victory complete. Each of these occurrences was the signal for another of Rosie's profound observations on human nature. "That Lootenant Grimes," he would say. "He is a celebrity." All people to Rosenfeld were "characters," "celebrities" or "commissioners." I'm sure that there was a subtle distinction among them, but I never discovered exactly what it was. A celebrity must have been some sort of horrible person: Rosenfeld hated the Lieutenant with all the strength he could muster. He didn't believe in officers, and second lieutenants were in a class with morons, ghouls or any other undesirables Rosenfeld could think of at the moment.

During the night great fortunes were won and lost at the black-jack table, an empty bottle of bourbon rolled noisily into the aisle. Milton's face was trampled on in the half dark by men rushing to the latrine, and the Lieutenant talked to us about life and the army, his words as glistening and meaningless as his body. Rosenfeld dozed in his seat, breaking out occasionally into vehement Russian, obviously preparing in his sleep a new military organization. Meanwhile the train sped on, carrying us all a little closer to death. But we were safe and secure and welcome and we slept happily through the world of dark.

In the station at Omaha a young girl handed me a sandwich through the open window. Bits of dust and ash drifted in with her hand and her face became lost in a landscape of white bread and red ham. I ate the sandwich hungrily, agreeing with Rosie that GI cooks were a good argument for mercy killings, while other soldiers ran about the platform stretching legs, calling raucously after women. Rosie looked through the window at life outside, constantly cursing and mumbling half to himself, half to me, "those damn fedder moichents," as civilians paraded conspicuously by our train. We finished eating and got up to stroll out onto the platform ourselves. As we passed the wash room, we saw Lieutenant Grimes sitting alone, glum and dejected. All his brilliance and polish were gone. They had dropped off and lay at his feet where they mixed with the crazy pattern of the floor's linoleum. Rosie and I looked at each other for a moment, then back at the Lieutenant. Finally Rosenfeld said with a sly smile: "Nobody give the Lootenant a sangwich."

He said it without rancor, without hate. I looked at him again to make sure. CPL. WILLIAM ZEITUNG

[1] This is one of a series of articles and sketches written by present and former members of the American armed forces. While we have now suspended our Soldiers' Prose competition, we shall continue to welcome material for this department. It will be paid for at our regular rate, and contributions considered exceptionally good will receive an extra payment of $25. – THE EDITORS

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Washington Notes

Election Prospects and Other Matters

WE WERE STANDING outside the President's White House study waiting for the press conference and got to talking about election chances. The conclusion of half a dozen of us, including a nationally known columnist, a radio commentator, the head of an ultra-conservative newspaper bureau and a couple of others: that Roosevelt is licked by any estimate that has statistics in it, but has a 50-50 chance, or better, by anything that has an informed "hunch" in it.

Before going farther, let me take you into the President's study. There are red carnations on his desk. He wears a summery gray suit, without vest, bow-tie with polka dots, fresh haircut. To me he looks tired, though he is just back from a vacation. I have watched Roosevelt twice a week for 11 years. His physical and, particularly, his mental resilience is his extraordinary feature: I have never known a man who could so snap out of it. But he shows the strain. The lines are deeper, the hair is sparser and grayer, the cycle between fresh return from vacation and fagged end of another grueling bout at an American President's impossible task, is shorter. And all the time the problems are bigger.

To go back to political chances. If you look at the thing from any ordinary statistical angle, Roosevelt is defeated now. It's worse even than most Republican editorial writers realize. Roosevelt's mass appeal has largely depended on four great elements: youth (which is in the army, and can't vote); labor (which is scattered in the greatest mass migration in history and hasn't registered); farmers (who are definitely alienated); Catholics (who are worried about Russia).

Let's approach it from another angle. The Gallup Poll shows the Democrats with a majority over the nation of about 51 percent. But due to one-party concentration in the South, the Democrats normally need about a 52-percent majority merely to break even.

Some other polls show a considerable Democratic preponderance, with the balance still held by a big "don't-know" vote. But these polls don't take adequate account of the 1944 war disfranchisement.

A pro-Roosevelt war worker who has moved into Rhode Island in 1943 can't vote in 1944; there's a two-year residence qualification, as in four other states! This is extreme, but the other states are tough, too. Literally millions of army youth and workers aren't going to vote this year, while elderly stay-at-homes carry the day.

Individual tests look bad, too, like the 1,531-vote congressional Democratic "victory" just recorded in New York's uptown twenty-first district. A vote like that downtown would mean the Democrats would certainly lose New York. Wilson lost New York in 1916 and carried the nation, but such instances are few.

Those are the statisical facts. But against them is the "hunch" of the political professional. He just doesn't believe it. He knows Roosevelt. He fortifies himself with a cautious 50-50 doubt and awaits developments.

One of the reasons congressional conservatives are riled at Randolph Paul, Treasury general counsel, is that he has been so right on tax simplification. He saw this mass outburst coming. And do what it will now, Congress must angrily accept the contention he has made all along—that the first step in simplification is Victory-tax elimination. The Treasury fought this tax from the outset. Last October 4 Morgenthau again appealed against it. All last fall and winter, Paul was making speeches renewing the fight. The facts are simple. The Victory tax collects so little money that it isn't worth while. In order to collect the money it imposes a double tax computation on everybody, and balls up the whole system. A total of fifty million people pay income taxes. If the Victory tax were dropped, nine million taxpayers at the bottom of the income scale—heads of families close to subsistence level—would get off. Congress won't stand for this, even though the Treasury proposes to recover the money by special excise taxes. Yet the Victory tax from these 9,000,000 is only $275,000,000, Paul figures, or 2 percent of the total.

If the Baruch postwar report could have been poured into, and mixed up with, the latest Truman Committee report, what a startling joint document the two would make! The Baruch report is a postwar demobilization diagram directed to aid business. Many of its proposals are excellent. But its goal is to restore employment, not full employment; it doesn't seem to take adequate account of the forthcoming job-need; and, in a specific case, it wants to get the government's $15,000,000,000 investment in plants turned over to private corporations, or scrapped, as fast as possible.

The comprehensive Truman study presents details from the other side of the picture. Big corporations have grown vastly bigger. One hundred gigantic corporations hold most of the war contracts. Profits are enormous. In the case of steel, the postwar monopoly condition will be tighter than ever. The Truman Committee isn't convinced—quite the reverse—that the taxpayer's war-plant investment should be promptly liquidated when war ends.

This may be very significant indeed. It was Congress, you remember, after World War I, that fought successfully, for 15 long years, to prevent the TVA from going to somebody like Henry Ford. A few bold congressmen blocked the deal, and their ranks got bigger and bigger. A lot of us have been wondering whether the same sort of delaying action might not come after this war. The Truman report hints that a nucleus may be there in Congress now, waiting for the big fight.

Miscellany: As the soldiers'-vote bill now stands, it is hard to see anything but a Roosevelt veto. . . . Willkie has everything to lose, little to gain, in the Wisconsin primary; he is out to show that he has mass support, all his chips are in every primary. Dewey already has a politician's alibi; Wisconsin Dewey delegate leader Fred Zimmerman is an outspoken isolationist. . . . American naval authorities are certain the Jap navy will ultimately give battle, but will choose the time and place best supported by home-based airplanes: it will be the greatest naval combat in all history. . . . For first time in 13 months FCC Chairman Fly gets a chance to reply this week in the Lea Committee investigation.

Washington T. R. B.

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Two Phantoms

"PHANTOM LADY" is a mystery movie about a New York engineer, Alan Curtis, who is convicted of strangling his wife, Marcella, to death but is saved from the chair by his secretary, Ella Raines, who at the last minute finds the real murderer. This is a likable thriller that works much harder than most modern movies to turn up some actual life in actual settings, and to project the psychological states of both its people and its events in a genuine movie way. As a mystery it leaves you with more riddles than it solves: for instance, the murderer seems to have been in two places at the time of the crime, the hero was convicted, first degree and all, though he was witnessed everywhere but at the scene of the crime—nor is the case history of the phantom lady cleared up by your finding her at the end of the picture in her home on Long Island under the care of a psychiatrist. Being generally unhampered by circumstantial evidence, the picture is able to construct a convenient movie chain of events, such as a jam session, a seduction scene in a hotel room and the trailing of a barkeep home from work. Simply by trying to show the main visual facts of these events, the film achieves a certain degree of lust and frenzy on the part of the jazz drummer, of discomfiture on the part of Miss Raines, who has to endure his advances, and the clammy fear of the barkeep. The producers, for once, were interested in the psychological tone of each event and as a result they got hysteria out of the jazz bit, a stalking quality into the trailing episode, and lust in the seduction. Despite all this, which is likable, and despite the realism of the decor and photography, the scenes for one reason or another seem contrived, not going deeply or exactly enough into their realism, winding off to keep on the right side of the Hays Office, or being stiffened by the ham nature of the casting, acting and dialogue. Everything might have been better had the actors been closer in looks to New York bars and theatres than they are to their Hollywood studios, or had their playing been less stereotyped. Its chief attribute is that where it has had an incident to project, it has actively entered the event and tried to get over to the audience the heart of the moment instead of relaxing into the lazy evasiveness that bogs down most movies.

Some of the important features of "Jane Eyre" are that it tries for a gloomy, passionate spirit, which it achieves in only the secondary effects of the film; that, though it threatens time and again to pursue some one of its events into the depth, subtlety and significance that are demanded by each event, it never actually does, and remains a meager, chaotic résumé of itself; that it has had the common movie difficulty of transcribing the events of a novel with equal significance into the time limit of a movie. Little occurs in "Jane Eyre" beyond two barely adequate conversations between Jane and Mr. Rochester and abrupt, hectic and invariably second-hand allusions to events—nor are these allusions made better by doing them so brown in painting-like compositions which achieve a pretty obviousness inappropriate to the stark emotional moods they are intended to present.

Jane Eyre herself in movie language is confined in characterization to that uptilted head and that heartsore expression that are becoming Joan Fontaine's trademark. She is glimpsed so whenever the directors can find a place for her in such a complexity of material and only two hours to present it all—usually in or around Orson Welles's blanketing performance of Rochester. That performance presents Rochester in three versions, one given by Welles's toasty-crackle voice, the second by his face, and the third by his second face, which is composed of make-up and the shadows of photographer George Barnes. Charlotte Bronte's or the adapters' words are never so important as Mr. Welles's voice, and the character of Rochester is what you can piece together out of the indications of humanity washing around in the flood of his unregulated and unbashful talent. Along with his two faces and Joan Fontaine's one, the real visual matter of the film consists in a pot-pourri of gloomy paraphernalia—scenes on the moors and inside Thornehaven, sudden moans, screams and candles coming out of the blackness, music full of foreboding, and every minute or so a lonely carriage and four traversing the moor. All of these Gothic splashes hint of things that never quite materialize, including your interest. MANNY FARBER

Science and Technology

Forecasting the Weather

WEATHER FORECASTING is one of those branches of science to which little attention is paid but which would be greatly missed if for any reason it were stopped. Among the results in that case would be: more hazardous airplane travel, and therefore less of it; a sharp rise in the amount of respiratory diseases; a substantial rise in the cost of perishable foods, especially citrus fruits; a serious increase in forest fires; much greater loss of life than at present from hurricanes and tornadoes; a serious loss of small boats in coastal waters and on the Great Lakes; an annual loss of many millions of dollars to business in general.

Partly because of recent scientific development, the weather-forecasting service can do the following things:

Forecasts of weather conditions on transoceanic air routes are now much more accurate than in the past. When full reports like those of peacetime are restored, the hazard of airplane flights across oceans because of adverse weather conditions will be largely removed.

When a flood occurs on one of our great rivers, prediction is made days in advance, and to within a fraction of a foot, how high the water will rise at any given time at any given point.

An army or navy commander can tell the weatherman what sort of weather he needs for a given operation, and be notified when such weather is probably imminent, with a record of high operational accuracy in such forecasts.

Weather can be and is predicted daily for great areas of the earth, from worldwide reports collected and analyzed at a single station. These predictions are of course supplemented for small localities by forecasts made on the spot.

In winter, forecasters in Florida and Southern California can tell, usually within a degree or so, how cold it will get each night and what precautions, if any, the growers of citrus fruits and other expensive crops should take.

The weathermen can tell the engineers who are building a dam in the mountains or a road across the lowlands

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just how bad will be the worst possible storm ever to hit that region and therefore what is probably necessary to make the dam or the road safe for any given future use.

Hurricanes are now reported in advance so promptly that their damage is reduced to a minimum. Still more remarkable is the reporting and charting of tornadoes, which are commonly called "cyclones" or "twisters," in the American Middle West. In some cases, even during their brief life, which is only four or five hours at most, the public is warned in advance that they are coming, and that safety precautions should be taken.

Commercial firms have learned to rely on the increasingly accurate predictions that are available today and, as a result, they save several billion dollars annually that would otherwise be lost.

And finally, weather predictions for you and me, in our daily lives are more definite and timely than ever before.

Weathermen today think of their problem in global terms. Disturbances in the atmosphere travel, for the most part, from west to east and often go for long distances in the Northern or Southern Hemisphere, although they do not usually cross the Equator. The larger the area from which weather reports are available, the more accurate the predictions will be. Today, ships at sea have their radios silenced, and in theory at least we get very few accurate reports from enemy territory. It is a remarkable tribute to meteorology that even under these difficulties the record is as good as it is.

During the war, several thousand young men and women have been trained by the Army, Navy and Weather Bureau in meteorology. Many of these newly trained technicians would like to stay in weather work after the war and are probably wondering whether they will have a chance to do so. For a large proportion of them, the answer is yes. The day is not far distant when every large manufacturing firm, public utility or other type of enterprise whose operations are influenced by weather, may have its own weather expert, or perhaps a whole group of them.

Why weather is so important to business can be illustrated by a few examples.

A large baking company in New York City is saving approximately $300,000 annually by following the weather predictions closely. When the weather is to be fine, about one-half of its products are distributed in the city and one-half through small retail outlets scattered through the suburbs. But when the weather is stormy, 75 percent is kept in the city or distributed at points close to suburban railway stations. The company has discovered that when the weather gets bad enough, about one-half its women customers in the suburbs will telephone their husbands in the city asking them to buy bread and other bakery products either before they get on the train or just after they leave it. Savings on unsold goods amount to the total mentioned.

Many other types of businesses are saving money by depending on weather forecasts. In Atlanta, Georgia, a milliner advertised Easter hats promising that if more than .8 of an inch of rain fell on Easter Sunday, he would refund $5 on the cost of each bonnet. It did rain, but only .4 of an inch fell. This man, before making his offer, had consulted Weather Bureau records and discovered that for thirty years past the average rainfall at that time of year was only a small fraction of an inch.

A large candy company which sells all over the country was losing serious sums because its candy, shipped in unusually hot weather, melted in transit. Today, before shipping its goods, it waits for notice from the Weather Bureau that no abnormal hot spell is in sight. A large manufacturer of canned soup had the reverse problem—its goods froze in shipment during cold spells—and it solved the problem in the same way. A manufacturer of hardened, forged steel rolls, which can be irreparably damaged by freezing, faced the same problem as the soup company. A large dairy near an Eastern city watches the weather because it has learned that when days are warm people drink more milk although the cows give less, while with low temperatures both conditions are reversed. When there is a surplus, it is diverted to powdered milk or ice cream.

A firm making a mosquito repellent looks out for predictions of rainy weather followed by heat, knowing that this will produce an abnormally large demand for its product. Dealers in anti-freeze for car radiators, naturally, watch for predictions of cold weather. Restaurants make up their menus on a basis of weather reports, emphasizing meat and soup when it's cold, salad and fruits when it's hot.

A dealer in charcoal in Memphis, Tennessee, who sends his product in carload lots to New Orleans, was troubled with spontaneous combustion of the charcoal en route. Learning that this took place only when the weather was both abnormally hot and abnormally dry, he now watches the predictions and wets down the charcoal before shipping, on days when there is any danger.

What causes weather? There are two chief reasons for it: the physical properties of hot and cold air, and the rotation of the earth. Secondary causes are oceans, land masses and mountains. The air over the tropics is warm; over the poles, it is cold. Warm air rises and cold air sinks. Thus is established (and any general statement like this is only approximately true) a north-and-south rotary motion in each hemisphere, warm air rising from the tropics and moving toward the poles, cold air sinking at the poles and moving toward the tropics. This action, modified by the rotation of the earth and the other factors mentioned, results in three great bands of wind. There are two wide belts in mid-latitudes where the winds are predominantly from the west, and two wide belts in the tropics where the winds are predominantly from the northeast in the Northern Hemisphere, and from the southeast in the Southern Hemisphere. But there are many important exceptions. The winds are not the same in winter as in summer. For example, in winter there is a vast circular wind area in Asia, revolving clockwise; in summer this changes to a vast circular movement, revolving counter-clockwise.

Weather in the continental United States is made for us largely by disturbances from three points—those coming down from the north, in from the Pacific, and up from the tropics. The masses of air engaged in these movements are very large, far larger than was once considered the case. They create huge "isobaric" systems (systems based upon equal barometric pressure at various points), circular or elliptical in shape, in which the winds rotate—usually in a counter-clockwise direction during bad weather and clockwise during good. These systems move across the United States from west to east, influenced of course by natural barriers and by the configuration of the country. You must

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remember, however, that the atmosphere extends upward for many miles and the wind conditions may be different at various heights. The weatherman does not consider merely conditions on the surface, which can be experienced by any citizen who takes the trouble to get out of doors. He also and simultaneously thinks about the weather 10,000, 25,000 or even 50,000 feet up.

In predicting the weather, several comparatively new devices play an important part. One of these determines accurately, without any subjective human element, just how high the clouds are above the earth at a given point. A pulsating beam of light is shot directly upward from a given point. Several hundred yards away, an electronic scanning device records the height at which this pulsating light is reflected backward and downward from the clouds. Because the beam pulsates, it cannot be confused with natural light, and the device is effective in the daytime as well as the dark.

Another striking bit of mechanism is the "radiosonde." This is a five-foot helium-filled balloon which carries aloft a compact automatic radio-transmitting apparatus. This machine actually sends back to the station reports on air pressure, temperature and humidity. These balloons keep on rising until, at a height of 60,000 to 100,000 feet, roughly 12 to 20 miles, they burst because of the thinness of the atmosphere. Then a tiny parachute opens and the radio transmitter floats down to earth. There is a reward for its return to the Weather Bureau, and the remarkable fact is that nearly one-half of these radiosonde transmitters are returned, to be used again. Visual observation of another type, the pilot balloon, shows the direction and velocity of the wind aloft.

No feat of the weathermen is more startling than their ability to predict within a fraction of a foot just how high a river will rise during a flood. There is of course no guesswork about it. The estimates are based upon assembling vast numbers of data and working them out mathematically. At many points upstream, automatic devices record the height of the river from minute to minute and flash the results to a nearby station by telegraph or radio. Rainfall at the headwaters of the river is calculated carefully, and predictions are made, taking into account the topography of the region, the speed of the run-off and all other factors.

Not infrequently, a flood has two crests several days apart. When that happens, the Weather Bureau has great difficulty in persuading the inhabitants of river towns that the first crest was not the final one. Almost always, those who refuse to take the word of the expert subsequently have reason to regret it. On the other hand, millions of dollars have been saved by acting on the advice of the experts. Once a town has been told just how high the flood will go, the work of raising all perishable property above that level begins. This often includes valuable electric dynamos and motors, elaborate switchboards, steam and gasoline engines, all types of goods in storage, and household equipment.

Incidentally, the floods in the Mississippi Valley in May, 1943, were among the worst ever recorded on the North American continent. In the valleys of only four rivers, the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Arkansas and the Illinois, 243,000,000,000 tons of water fell. That was enough water, properly used, to generate $140,000,000 worth of electricity at the lowest possible price; instead, however, the flood did damage of about two-thirds that amount.

Great skill and long experience are required for the remarkable achievement of the fruit-frost service, which predicts within a degree the temperature to be expected the following night, in the winter citrus and truck-growing regions of the country. A separate forecast is worked out for each one of a large number of key points in agricultural areas, some of which will be above the danger line while others may be several degrees below it.

A service of which the public rarely ever hears is given in the great forests such as those of the Pacific Northwest, where logging operations are in progress. The Weather Bureau warns Forest Service officials, fire-fighting agencies and the operators when the forests are becoming dangerously dry. When conditions get bad enough, operations are ordered suspended. Special forecasts of wind and weather are made especially for fire-fighting operations, often from mobile units right at the scene of the fire.

The hurricane-warning service is now so accurate and so familiar that people forget how important it is. The great Galveston hurricane on September 8, 1900, before the warning service had been instituted, cost 6,000 lives and much property loss. The Galveston hurricane of September 25, 1941, was about equally severe, but the hurricane warning service had put people on guard. While heavy property damage was done, it was far less than would have happened without the warning. Although the population of the area had increased enormously in the intervening forty-one years, this time only four people were killed—only one by drowning.

A recent development has been the storm-reporting networks thrown around munitions plants, air fields and camps. These networks operate through the coöperation of farmers, telephone operators and others who have been trained to report immediately, to a central plotting unit, thunderstorms and other severe local disturbances. The direction of the storm is forecast and warnings are flashed by radio and telephone to the public in the path of the storm. Protective measures are immediately taken, such as, in a munitions plant, shutting down operations and evacuating personnel.

An interesting aspect of Weather Bureau work comes when a dam is to be built or a road constructed at a point where a heavy storm might do great damage. The Bureau, which collaborates on this work with the United States Army Engineers, makes exhaustive studies which tell not only what is the greatest storm or flood witnessed in that area in recorded history, but what is the most severe phenomenon that is theoretically possible. To do this the experts take a severe storm, break it down into its component elements, evaluate the magnitude of each of these elements, and put them back together again, so to speak, in such a way as to do the maximum possible damage—damage like that seen during January, 1943, at Camp Leroy, California, where about twenty-six inches of rain fell in twenty-four hours.

When the experts know how deep the water might be in the worst possible flood, this does not necessarily mean that the dam or the road will be built so as to be entirely safe in such a calamity. Dams and roads cost money: it may not be worth while to build against a storm that comes only

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once in a hundred years. In the case of a road, for example, you have to balance the cost of construction against the cost of having the road cut off for a few days or a week once every five, fifteen or fifty years. How much traffic uses the road now, and how much will do so a quarter of a century hence? How valuable is the cargo carried by that traffic? What alternative roads will be open if this one goes under water? It will be seen that the problem is complicated.

Joke writers love to poke fun at the weatherman and probably a great many people have a feeling that his predictions are wrong about as often as they are right. But this is not true; it is another case of a familiar psychological fact: you are quite likely to remember it when the Weather Bureau makes a mistake, but you forget it when the predictions are correct perhaps ten days in succession. Indeed, when one considers how numerous and varied are the conditions with which the forecaster must cope, the marvel is that he has such a high score of bull's-eyes. Although the large-scale weather conditions change relatively slowly, in a small locality the detailed weather can vary enormously in a short space of time. Try to predict where the ball is going in a pinball game, just after it has started, and you'll get some idea of what the forecaster is up against.

There is much misunderstanding about the relation of the Weather Bureau to the commercial forecasters who predict weather for their clients, on a fee basis. The popular impression is that the private forecasters are somehow able to do a better job than the Weather Bureau, predicting farther ahead. Actually, this is not true. The reputable private firms forecast only for a few days, about the same length of time or shorter than the Weather Bureau does. They earn their fees by giving very special attention to the needs of one particular business in one particular locality. Both the Weather Bureau men and the reputable private forecasters will tell you that anyone who claims at present to forecast accurately for a couple of months or more ahead is a fake. His results are on the average no more accurate than might be attained if you predicted with the aid of a pair of dice.

The farmers' almanacs which purport to give you predictions a whole year ahead do nothing of the kind. The authors simply look up weather records for a few years past, and then introduce a random juggling of the usual sequence of events for the particular season and locality, or select a particular year as an index. Anyone can say that there will be several varied spells of snow in January, wind in March and heat in July.

A popular myth which the meteorologists combat is that the climate is changing. This may be true, but not within the lifetime of any individual. In the distant past, the earth has gone through several ice ages, probably at least four. There is reason to suppose that we shall have another, and some experts think that we have already passed the peak of the warm period between two glacial epochs and that the weather in the future will get colder and drier. But this is a matter of thousands of years rather than mere centuries. The ice ages are at least 15,000 years apart and perhaps several times that. If it seems to you that the winters were worse when you were a child than now, this is because (a) everything seems bigger and worse to a child than to a grown-up; (b) your clothing or heating equipment is more adequate now than it was then; (c) you have moved to a more protected or milder area; or (d) the countryside is more settled now than before, with more windbreaks.

Two other superstitions are repudiated by the meteorologists. Heavy artillery fire in war does not cause abnormally wet weather, they say. The cannonading may seem impressive to human ears but it is picayune compared with the forces necessary to affect precipitation. Moreover, it is not true that we get weather the reverse of that in Siberia, which lies across the North Pole from us. If we have a cold winter while Siberia has a mild one, or vice versa, this is coincidence and no more.

If we could find some universal principle behind the weather, so that long-range predicting would be possible, this would have an economic value of billions of dollars annually. For this reason the Weather Bureau has conducted elaborate studies, running back many years, seeking to find some recurring theme or other statistical fact useful in long-range forecasting. Comment on the results is at present withheld for reasons of military secrecy.

It is an exciting experience to stand, as I was privileged to do not long ago, in the very heart of the vast American forecast service, in the Weather Bureau in Washington. Here were long batteries of automatic teletype machines bringing in weather reports, ceaselessly, day and night, from some 3,500 weather observers throughout the United States and its territories. The weathermen report on 42 facts about their localities, of which 19 are considered of prime importance. These conditions have been ingeniously coded, so that a series of five or six letters and symbols tells as much about the weather as you or I could get into a 25-word telegram. Here was the new scanning device, which, so to speak, holds a tape measure up to the nearest cloud and tells just how high it is above the earth. Here were the radiosonde balloons which start off on their journey into the stratosphere twice daily and the pilot balloons which leave four times a day. Here was the elaborate machinery, employing the full time of scores of persons, for telling airplane pilots just what kind of weather may be expected. This information is passed out constantly, of course, not only before a flight begins, but while it is in progress.

A real triumph of meteorology is the new service which predicts five days ahead. The forecaster and his assistants work in a quiet, brightly lighted room in the Weather Bureau, a room whose walls are crowded with huge maps which also cover a great table in the center. Twice each week, the five-day forecaster and his aides sit down and make a new calculation of the weather for the next 120 hours. The huge maps on the wall are altered almost literally from hour to hour, showing the location and size of "high" and "low" pressure areas, where the storms are, over a great part of the earth's surface, in what direction they are moving, and how fast. The five-day forecaster analyzes these charts, not only for the ground level but simultaneously for 5,000, 10,000 and so on, up to about 50,000 feet. Then, summarizing and memorizing these hundreds of data and noting the changes in them as they come off the clattering teletypes, he sits down to make his prediction. It seemed to me, as I tiptoed out and left him and his aides at work, that here you had got about as far as you very well could from the simple savage who, in sudden wonder and terror, sees the black thunder clouds rolling up across the horizon. B. B.

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The Bandwagon

Monsignor Sheen insisted he was not an enemy of Russia. "I pray for Russia every morning and that's more than Earl Browder can say," he declared. – *INS dispatch from Boston to The San Francisco Examiner.*

Objection here [to the school-lunch plan] is based on the theory that if schoolchildren need to drink more milk and eat more nutritious food, they should pay for it themselves rather than have the federal government help pay for it. – *From The Providence, R. I., Evening Bulletin.*

It [a statement issued by the Catholic Hospital Association and the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference] warns that Catholic hospitals face the same "danger" faced by parochial schools and says "the mere fact that social legislation meets social needs and responds to social demands is of itself not a strong enough reason to merit the support of a Catholic." – *From PM.*

So Don't Worry

James A. Farley, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, predicted at New Orleans that the nation would solve its postwar unemployment problem with "ability and confidence," declaring "every generation has solved its problems." – *From The Arkansas Gazete.*

Signs and Portents

Lady Montgomery told a milk-fund-benefit audience here today that the war would end this year "because my son is fed up with it." Lady Montgomery's son is Gen. Sir Bernard L. Montgomery. – *From The New York Times.*

Brave New World

"For every person with a sense of responsibility toward his pet there are hundreds of thousands to whom a dog is just a dog," she [Mrs. Arthur M. Lewis, executive of Dogs for Defense, Inc.] said. "I want to make this plea to you who are organized and powerful enough to concentrate on the postwar dog as a reward to all dogs for what they have done in the war." – *From The New York Herald Tribune.*

On the Home Front

Meanwhile, Kyne disclosed that there are 350 more horses than Bay Meadows [race track] has available stable space. The housing situation for race horses has begun to hit a critical point. – *From The San Francisco Chronicle.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Ruml's Fiscal Program

SIR: Further comment upon Beardsley Ruml's "A Postwar National Fiscal Program," reported in your February 28 issue, is desirable because many of your readers must be much less government-minded than your three commentators gave evidence of being. I would approve of their using his statement as the occasion for comment, generally favorable, upon the "Keynesian approach" but would make haste to point out that Beardsley Ruml gives very cautious endorsement of the compensatory-spending theory. He offers nine points of which only two deal with public spending and both of these points propose limits to spending. He and many others believe that "government stability" and a general state of economic health must obviate the necessity for government spending or inducement taxation or regulation, except within such limitations as he discusses. He is not merely "doffing his hat to the orthodox."

Mr. Ruml might have added more points as to sound taxation. Thus he should, I believe, have warned the Congress and Treasury that the present income-tax law is deflationary regardless of the rates of taxation because of arbitrary rules applied to depreciation and obsolescence. This question must be resolved.

But comment on the Ruml statement would still be very incomplete if it is not noted that it makes a major contribution outside the field of public finance, namely, in the discussion of the construction industry. As a matter of fact, as the statement implies, full stable employment will depend upon healthy community development and upon sound industrial management. The sooner we get to the roots of the definite problems of community stability and industrial stability, that much sooner will we be making a real beginning in the task of stabilizing employment. Mr. Ruml proposes a study of one of the industries. Management to stabilize employment is not a new idea; many business managements are fully aware of the problem. Obviously, however, it will be a hopeless task without government understanding and conservative policy to "complement and supplement the activities of private business." Also, it will be a hopeless task unless problems of the least stable industries, like those of the construction industry, are given full consideration as key national problems of business and employment stability.

Stepney, Conn. HUGH JACKSON REBER

Why Not Tax Idle Capital?

SIR: I believe you might help save this country from a trillion-dollar depression if you would advocate a heavily graduated tax on *idle capital.* Statistics show that in 1930 total bank deposits in the United States were $19,000,000,000 *more* than at the close of any preceding fiscal year. (See World Almanac for 1936, page 289.)

To whom did these surplus billions belong? . . . Obviously, to a few very wealthy persons. And probably these billions were the proceeds of the hundred million or so shares of speculative stocks unloaded on the public during 1929 at "boom" prices—cash buying power that was being held out of circulation (until 1932 for the most part) awaiting "bargain" prices. And the bargains materialized. For the same stocks which in 1929 sold at more than $300 per share could be repurchased in '32 for less than $50 per share—and unloaded again in '37 at more than $150. Moreover, after repurchase, for about $3,000,000,000, of the same stocks that were unloaded in '29 for $20,000,000,000, the $17,000,000,000 of remaining profits could, in '32 and '33, have been invested in distressed or foreclosed mortgages on apartment and office buildings, etc., at less than half the real value of the properties.

Thomas R. Amlie says that Big Business, for purposes of its

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own, *desires* to see, after the war, an army of 10,000,000 unemployed in this country. Might it not be, also, that a few multimillionaires would like to reap the billions of profits (to themselves personally) that might be gleaned through planfully creating or manipulating a depression?

Suppose, however, that in 1930 there had been laws providing that heavy taxes should be levied on all large sums of buying power held idly in "liquid" form for six months or longer. Would those billions have remained out of circulation until prices of stocks, real estate, etc., touched bottom? Or would this cash have been quickly reinvested, thus averting a ten-year depression and "recession"?

And how much more just to tax, first of all, the idle wealth that is tending to *cause* depression, rather than burdensome levies (especially in the lower brackets) on persons engaged in production, or in spending and consuming, who are thereby tending to alleviate depression?

The tax on idle buying power, I suggest, should not perhaps touch sums of less than, say, $5,000—but on sums of $10,000 or more should be graduated heavily upward. Depressions are not caused by the savings of the poor or lower middle classes, because for every billion dollars saved by those classes for future spending, other individuals of the same classes spend a billion or more dollars out of *prospective* earnings or income by buying on instalments.

As a worthy crusade, why not advocate that workers, farmers, professionals and business persons and *productive* or useful capitalists all *unite* to demand for America continuous prosperity and full employment and utilization of resources by taxing out of existence the one thing which, more than anything else, tends to create depression—the withholding from circulation or investment of large sums of *idle buying power?* Another depression is quite likely to lead to the replacing of democracy with American fascism, of a brand that might be far more cleverly planned and perfected than were the experiments of Hitler and Mussolini.

Brooklyn, N. Y. HARRY E. BURKHART

The Welsh Miners

SIR: Cutting through the heart of Glamorgan County runs the great Aberdare Valley, first of three main ranges which support the coal-working population of South Wales. . . . Concentrated here in an area about the size of Rhode Island is an important chunk of Great Britain's coal supply. Not since the last war have these industries loomed so large to the nation; never before have the colliers of Aberdare, Rhondda and Merthyr been reckoned so vital. Smoldering here is the strongest movement in Britain for social reform—now—during the war.

So once again the "black spot" of industrial Britain has its hour upon the stage. This time the spotlight is stronger. The question of nationalization of mines is of worldwide importance, because it reflects the movement of modern democracy toward socialism. The country and people for whom Keir Hardie fought so valiantly must decide now whether or not, under the guise of war necessity, social reform must again be deferred. Mr. Churchill appears to have settled the question in his speech to the House of Commons when he said such problems must be solved only after the war is won.

It is generally believed, however, that the issue has only been postponed for a short period. The temper of the miner who has had to fight for every advantage or reform which came more easily in other industries is not likely to be swayed by Mr. Churchill's eloquence. Many remember him as the man who sent armed troops upon them in World War I days.

The miner's grievance is acutely political. It is so serious and demanding of solution that his actions may upset the relative electoral-truce calm. Industrial relations in the mining industry in Wales have always been bad, and concessions to the miners have come only after terrible sufferings and violence.

Now the miner finds himself in the abnormal situation of being highly desirable and downright necessary to the war effort. He finds himself in a position to bargain with considerable hope of success. Leftist elements in the Miners' Federation urge immediate action. . . .

All miners can vividly remember forgotten promises of the government after 1918; they see an unpleasant parallel approaching. Solid work proved so many empty words. Will history repeat itself? It isn't the present situation the miner is worried about but rather the postwar era. As far back as the First World War, mining people hoped for state control of mines. Now nationalization seems more vital, more necessary.

Aberdare, Rhondda and Merthyr miners took hope in 1942 when Major Lloyd George, Minister of Fuel and Power, announced that the state was moving into the coal industry. The only immediate result was that the collier had two masters instead of one. The dual-control system didn't work because the manager who represented the government was also an employee of the company. The atmosphere wasn't right. . . .

It can be fairly pointed out that it is much nicer, safer and more comfortable to fight for democracy in civilian capacity as a factory worker with hot lunches, dinner music, $40 weekly *et al.* than it is to labor in a coal pit for approximately $25 weekly. Mining, at best, is a hazardous occupation. . . .

Whether the miners will go out on general strike . . . or whether they will restrain themselves until after the war remains to be seen, but certainly the consequences of their action will be far-reaching. There is no doubt of the eventual nationalization of the mines. The colliers of Aberdare, Rhondda and Merthyr will fight for this. They may not wait until the war is over. For they know what they want.

c/o Postmaster, New York City SGT. GORDON RICHMOND

Political Prediction

SIR: I make this prediction:

If Willkie wins the Republican nomination, Roosevelt will not run against him. Instead, he will devote all his powers to the election of congressmen who will support Willkie's platform.

If any other person now before the public (with the possible exception of Burton of Ohio, who is not as prominently before the public as he will be later on) wins the Republican nomination, Roosevelt will run again and will be elected. Willkie will devote all his powers to the election of congressmen who will support Roosevelt's policies.

Greencastle, Ind. R. W. PENCE

From The New Republic Mail Bag

George M. Hauser, executive secretary of The Chicago Fellowship of Reconciliation, says that most pacifists will have nothing to do with the Peace Now movement because "they do not wish to be put in the position of 'making a deal' with fascists in order to have hostilities cease."

Cyril Clemens, president of The International Mark Twain Society, writes us from Webster Groves, Missouri, and says he is editing the anecdotes of Will Rogers and will be glad to hear from all who have stories to contribute.

From Seattle, Washington, we have received an announcement of "the April, 1944, publication of a non-commercial magazine entitled Interim. . . ." The magazine will be "a medium of expression for writers of the Northwest, including servicemen from this area." Poetry, criticism and fiction are desired, and a department, "Excerpts from Novels in Progress," is contemplated. Address: Will Stevens, Editor, 1006 Spring Street, Seattle 4, Washington.

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Books in Review

Cassandra's Children

LAST WEEK, after reviewing a surprisingly good novel about a Georgia lynching,[1] I turned back to a book we failed to notice when it was published last fall: "American Negro Slave Revolts," by Herbert Aptheker (Columbia, $4.50). It paints in the historical background of the novel. It shows that lynchings were skirmishes or reprisals in a social war much older than the ruins of the brick church at Jamestown. In fact, Mr. Aptheker describes a slave revolt that took place in 1526, when the Spaniards were trying to establish a colony in what was afterwards South Carolina. Virginia had a slave conspiracy in 1663, and it led to a number of summary executions—legal lynchings, we should call them today. New York in 1740 was terrified by a "slave plot" that was nine parts public hysteria, although some sort of outbreak had probably been planned. The sequel was that four white persons were executed, thirteen Negroes burned at the stake and eighteen others hanged. In all, Mr. Aptheker has found the records of more than 250 plots or rebellions, some of them involving ten or more slaves on a single plantation—he does not deal with individual acts of revolt—while others were mass insurrections. Gabriel's conspiracy in 1800 and Denmark Vesey's in 1822 each had thousands of supporters over a wide area. Nat Turner's revolt in 1831 was local in its origin, but it led to the death of fifty-seven whites, of more than a hundred Negroes; and it caused a wave of unrest and a following wave of repression that spread through the seaboard slave states.

The book itself is like an iceberg nine-tenths submerged in footnotes and inhospitable to landing parties, since it is written in a ruggedly academic style; but it contains a mass of neglected information. Mr. Aptheker concludes that the fear of Negro revolts helped to shape the laws, customs, politics and religion of the ante-bellum South, besides leading to mob violence and quiet lynchings. To keep the slaves in their place, white men created "the colossal myth of the subhumanity of the Negro." Acceptance of this myth "had to be demonstrated by all, Negro and white, in their daily behavior, their mode of eating and speaking, their demeanor, their occupations and activities, their worshiping and love-making. . . . Failure to abide by this meant —for the white—ostracism, both social and economic, explicit warning or overt punishment, tar and feathers, lashings, imprisonment, hanging; for the Negro, sale, torture, death." That might have been the text for Lillian Smith's novel, "Strange Fruit," which shows the myth surviving with all its prohibitions and punishments.

"The Hunted" (Knopf, $2.50) is a new England story distinguished by a furious hatred for highbrows. The author is Albert J. Guerard, son of the Albert Guérard (with an accent over the "e") who often writes for The New Republic on literature and international politics. Since the son holds a master's degree from Harvard and a doctorate from Stanford, besides having studied in Paris and London, it is no great risk to assume that he is now attacking his own caste. The scene of his novel is Hollis, a college that bears some resemblance to Amherst; young Guerard was teaching there in the spring of 1936, during one of the great Connecticut Valley floods. I hope for Amherst's sake that the resemblance is "purely coincidental and the result of accidents beyond the author's control," as we sometimes read in prefatory notes. The group of unappetizing people assembled in "The Hunted" would ruin any college town.

They are seen through the eyes of Claire Horcha, a singing waitress in a Holyoke joint who has the bad luck to marry into the Hollis faculty. Claire is an honest and lovable creature, but she is persecuted by the faculty wives and patronized by the husbands, including her own. The students gossip about her, when they aren't too busy getting drunk or seducing Smith College girls. Almost all the characters have a sort of lisping obscenity; they are "nathty, nathty," as Jilly Trask exclaims when they fondle her in the dark; she adores nasty people. The author detests them; and he contrives a whole series of dramatic episodes—a flood, a manhunt, a fraternity brawl—in order to reveal their essential inhumanity.

Poor intellectuals: they have been under violent attack for fifteen years or more. In Germany the Nazis denounced them for being "asphalt poets" before driving them into exile. In Russia they fell under suspicion of being Trotskyists and wreckers. In Washington the favorite sport of congressmen is baiting "the small clique of intellectuals from whom come whisperings of ideological idiocies and pinkish prattle." I quote from a speech by Representative Ranulf Compton, who is a Harvard man and ought to know better. But now the intellectuals are turning against themselves: the novels they write are either long confessions of guilt or else—like "The Hunted"—they are indictments of other intellectuals for being self-centered, lecherous, drunken, sadistic, flat-chested and partly bald. The indictments are partly true but chiefly overdrawn. It is time for somebody to point out that the intellectuals—whatever their private sins and physical shortcomings—were not responsible for the Versailles Treaty or its rejection by the Senate; for the boom and crash of 1929; for the Hoover tariff, the rise of Hitler, the fall of the Spanish Republic, the Munich Pact or the other events that plunged us into war. Their principal crime, like Cassandra's, has been their failure to make themselves heard.

Dr. Eric Fischer is another of Cassandra's children, but he is less sweeping in his conclusions than many of the historians who have prophesied the doom of European civilization. He compares Europe today with Greece toward the end of the Peloponnesian War. Athens and Sparta (like France, Germany and England) were weakened by their long rivalry and lost their place in world affairs; but that did not mean the end of Greek civilization, which con-

[1] The novel was "Strange Fruit," by Lillian Smith (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.75).

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tinued to flourish for several hundred years in what had formerly been the colonies. Dr. Fischer believes that the present war in Europe may lead to a similar result. "In general," he concludes, "the Age of Western Civilization is gone, but transformed Western civilization may survive in new centers outside Europe."

"The Passing of the European Age" (Harvard, $2.50) is a book that seems either too long or too short—too long for a theoretical essay and too short for a detailed historical exposition. As for Dr. Fischer's conclusion, it seems to me valid but perhaps less important in its implications than the author seems to believe. He tends to exaggerate the importance of geographical distance at the present time, when California and Australia are for all practical purposes closer to London than Syracuse was to Athens. What seems to be developing is not a new civilization distinct from the old, in the sense that the Hellenistic Age was distinct from that of Greece, but rather a simple geographical extension of Europe, with the new centers subject to all the diseases of age that have attacked the older centers. Fascism in Argentina is not strikingly different from fascism in Spain. Australia has the same problems of excessive urbanism and a declining birth rate that are being discussed in Sweden —and the Swedes are doing more to solve them. Cultural decadence is easier to study in Hollywood or Buenos Aires —or in Hollis College—than it is in Paris or Liverpool or Dublin.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Our First National Style

Greek Revival Architecture in America, by Talbot Hamlin. New York: Oxford University Press. 479 pages. $7.50.

BY CONCEIVING of his subject in its broadest context, as a manifestation of a major trend in American cultural life during the forty years before the Civil War, Talbot Hamlin has added a valuable chapter to our intellectual history. He is concerned not merely with technical details, but with what factors in our existence called forth and sustained our first widely national style. He is emphatic in his recognition that the term, "Greek Revival," is really a misnomer, since the movement was Greek only in its decorative vocabulary, and it did not seek to revive any past style but to adapt freely and imaginatively for the solution of new structural problems.

Yet elements deeply rooted in our thought and taste determined our eager response to classic forms. Negatively, our hatred of England, stirred up again in 1812, caused a reaction against what Jefferson had denounced as the elaborations of the baroque Georgian. We wanted something simpler and purer, a style more fitted to the aspirations of an early republic. And at that point the positive impulses began to operate, as our first statesmen found their most challenging models for action in the politics of classical antiquity. It soon became widely felt that our own heroic national career should be cast in architectural surroundings of a comparable spaciousness and dignity.

Although the movement was not fully under way until the eighteen twenties, Hamlin dates its beginning in 1798, with Latrobe's Bank of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. To be sure, Latrobe was an Englishman, but he had

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Dr. Lowdermilk believes that Palestine can serve as the example that will lift the entire Near East from its present low economic and industrial level to a position of dignity and security in the post-war world. Illustrated. $2.50

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WALTER CLARK: FIGHTING JUDGE

By Aubrey Lee Brooks

WHEN Walter Clark was seventeen, he was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Confederate Army (youngest one on either side). Fifty years later, he was still fighting—always on the people's side. When he died a prominent railroad official said: "I never attended a funeral with more pleasure."

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS Chapel Hill

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brought from England the spirit of growing rebellion against Palladianism. It was his work, therefore, and not Jefferson's which really led the way back to Greek simplicity, since Jefferson's standard remained the grandeur of Rome, which he had discovered for himself in the Maison Carrée at Nîmes. The epoch-making quality of this bank of Latrobe's is that "it is unlike any bank built before the Revolution, it is unlike any English prototype, and it is certainly unlike any known classic structure." By such a description Hamlin emphasizes the originality of the movement, and marks off its work from the delicacy and refinement of McIntire, and even of Bulfinch. For that New England school was essentially a continuation of late colonial, and owed much of its impulse to Adam. You might draw a parallel in our literature between such work and the grace and distinction of Washington Irving. And just as Emerson and Melville felt that Irving's talent was too feminine, so our next generation of architects believed that our country needed a more energetic, a more monumental style. It needed what Hamlin calls "a revolutionary classicism."

He gives justification to that inspiriting phrase by demonstrating that Greek beauty was for these builders a thing to be absorbed but not to be followed slavishly, since archeological correctness was shouldered aside by fresh invention. The basic reason why their structure and design could be so thoroughly integrated was that at no other time in our history "have engineering and architecture been so thoroughly one." As Hamlin sums up these general attributes of the style, we are reminded of how impressed Emerson was by Horatio Greenough's insistence on functionalism, on the fact that we must master Greek principles for our own life, not copy Greek things. The outstanding instance in our literature of such mastery of the organic principle, and the closest equivalent to the breadth and firmness and freedom for which the architects were also striving, are the quietly classic pages of "Walden."

But one of the most instructive things about the Greek Revival was that, unlike the literary renaissance, it did not reach its summit in the older and more settled parts of the country. In both Massachusetts and Virginia the more conservative colonial tradition lingered on, although striking exception must be made for some of the later developments, such as Alexander Parris' Quincy Market and Ammi Young's impressive granite Boston Custom House; and, in Virginia, the college buildings of Washington and Lee, which followed Jefferson's magnificent lead at Charlottesville in more strictly Greek patterns.

The center of radiation was Philadelphia, and it is notable of the degree to which a coherent school was responsible for the wider diffusion that two of the leading practitioners, Robert Mills (1781-1855) and William Strickland (1787-1854), were both pupils of Latrobe. Mills claimed that he was the first native-born American to be regularly trained for the profession. It is significant that he also believed that an architect should be concerned with all the political and social issues of the day. His buildings are characterized by a solid massiveness, which can be noted alike in his Treasury Building at Washington, his New Bedford Custom House and his private homes in Richmond and Philadelphia. Strickland's taste was perhaps surer and certainly less heavy; and his work, extending from the Providence Atheneum to the State Capitol of Tennessee, marks again the range that was exercised by these early masters. A comparable sphere of influence was to be exerted by the New York firm of Town and Davis, which produced state capitols as widely separated as those of North Carolina and Illinois.

But the movement is characterized not by the dominance of a few Easterners, nor of a few big cities, but by the simultaneous flowering in hundreds of local centers. The aims of the movement can be read most clearly in such a pioneering state as Kentucky. There the great name is Gideon Shryock, who, after a year in Strickland's office, returned home to provide his region, in such masterpieces as the Capitol at Frankfort or the new college of Transylvania in Lexington, with buildings commensurate with the dignity of the common man. It is fitting that another of the landmarks of the style should be Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, the product of local builders.

As you follow the movement out through the West, to one of its last great monuments, the San Francisco Mint, it is exciting to observe how rapidly the shacks and cabins of the first settlers gave way to buildings of permanence and to communities planned as a whole. Some of the aspects of this planning, particularly in the older industrial centers, in the workers' houses at Peacedale, Rhode Island, or Manchester, New Hampshire, could be instructive to us now. Hamlin is quite aware that one of the sustaining bases of the style was that agriculture and industrialism were still in balance. He knows that the reasons for its decline were not merely technical, not merely the intrusion of an academic concern with correctness, which gradually robbed the movement of its originality and turned a national style into a

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE JEWS?

By Beatrice Gross

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national bank style. Hamlin puts the more basic reasons quite simply: "The emergence of the millionaire was as fatal to the artistic ideals of the Greek Revival as were the speed, the speculation and the exploitation that produced him."

Some of the difficulties that Hamlin encountered in writing his book are part of our later heritage. He found not only that some of the most beautiful of these buildings are still being destroyed, with no apparent concern on the given city's part for what is thus lost; but, even in the case of those that have escaped destruction, an utter carelessness as to their records, so that he could piece together only tentatively some of the main outlines of his narrative. It is interesting to note how frequently he cites the information provided by the WPA State Guides, which in themselves are a sign of our renewed if belated concern with the cultural community.

F. O. MATTHIESSEN

Home Body

The Common Thread, by Michael Seide. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 201 pages. $2.

THE EXCELLENT QUALITIES in the writing of Michael Seide have not yet become virtues. He has a personal style which has not yet acquired the deeper personalism of transparency, and a personal view which is not yet a vision. His is a naturalism in embryo which promises to grow free and graceful; but the egg is clouded and streaked with whimsy, mannerism and a little vanity. And the very fact that his writing is still retained in the shell suggests a timidity in the writer—a timidity that accounts both for the literary exaggeration with which he polishes his stories, and the restraint, a breathlessness that comes from holding back and not from exertion, which accompanies the basic insight of his work.

These are ten stories about shipping clerks, garment workers, the unemployed, Jewish families in Brownsville, Brooklyn. The common thread is the author's own family life, his childhood and retained experiences. He works with a closeness to his subject matter that almost relieves him of the need for invention; he is exploring his own endowment, rather than studying an external world.

Seide works through contrasts—an accented, conscious style dotted with Brooklynese; language deliberately spiraling away from the Yiddish base, yet interspersed with Yiddishisms in thought, phrase and word. The tension of this method is further carried out in the pattern of his most successful stories. Thus, in "A Lady of My Own" he sets two conflicting movements going, one within the other. After sunset on Yom Kippur when his mother comes home purged from the synagogue and breaks fast, and the year, all cleansed, begins its descent from the High Holidays—aha, Uncle Ben is here! His daughter, Becky, has kicked him out of the house, a fool of his own devotion, unwanted in his old age, Ben the Brownsville Lear. Seide, the narrator, and his sister Helen resent the intrusion, show hostility toward the old man, do not want him to remain. But Seide's mother, herself old, her husband dead, sympathizes with Uncle Ben and, as mothers will, she deflects the children's hostility to herself, pointing out that she is in the same position. This the children deny. But the old lady, with true insight, insists they have rejected her—she

26 Years in the Making

PRELUDE TO SANITY, by S. Greiner, is the kind of book that is easier to belittle than to understand. To sustain the premise that the fundaments of all our knowledge-patterns are rooted in a flaw within the racial organism is to fly in the face of everything we have been conditioned to believe. As was to be expected, the medical hierarchies have to date ignored the author's assaults against the citadels of their theory and practice; the economic hierarchies, his demonstration that the roots of social chaos are not economic but organic; the scientific hierarchies, his proof that the core of all their texts—the premise of objective causality—is rationalized delirium.

It is therefore heartening among this withering silence to find the United Press syndicating an article in which their commentator admits that the thesis is "colossal"; that its implications "would blast the fabric of our culture and civilization like a blockbuster landing in a block of tenements"; and that in demonstrating it, the author "submits a closely packed, well-knit argument," that provides "a potent mental cocktail."

It is even more significant to come upon a middle-western book-reviewer (C. P. Yarnelle, in the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette) concluding her encomium on the book with the words: "It is a temptation to brush aside such an upsetting book as the work of a madman. Remembering the fate of Galileo, Bruno, Copernicus, and Darwin, we prefer to suspend judgment. We have a presentiment that it will haunt us the rest of our days."

And there is H. L. Sloanaker, of the staid Boston Post, commenting that the author "removes skin (and flesh) from almost everyone and everything with his caustic probing. If you are tired of just books and want your thinking (if any, Greiner might add) challenged" he offers "food for thought—such as you have never before sampled."

The 33 who constitute Master Publications did not back the author with any thought of profit. They do not care if they lose part or all of their investment. What matters to them is that they share with those whose native wits have not yet been obliterated by their literacies the most searingly revelatory book of our millenium. Perhaps they will understand why the physician who wrote the introduction appraises the book as bespeaking "an intelligence of so intricate a pattern and such cavernous profundity as to reduce the most noted intellectual achievements of the past to the stumbling sallies of amateurs and tyros."

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is "too old." And she tells them a story illustrating the injustice children always do their parents.

The story she relates—of a father and son traveling in winter, the father worrying himself wild over the son, the son not even thinking once of the father—proves her point by perfect analogy; it establishes the children's guilt. Yet it also purges them of guilt and hostility. Only through recognizing and admitting their unconscious rejection of the mother are they able to accept her; and, by extension, Uncle Ben, too. Through this device Seide takes the emotion dispersed in conflict around the rim of the story, compresses it and places it squarely in the center, where it belongs.

This may be a device. But it is also a germ of thought, a feeling for patterns in experience where the writer plays poet with environment, referring events back to perfect centers of value: love, innocence or even guilt, still warm in the memory, and emerging to intensify and comprehend the broken world, the sewing machines, the Brooklyn streets. It is a trend of writing which moves to combine the moral and the esthetic: Dostoevsky's Peasant Marey, Proust's cup of tea. I don't know how far Michael Seide may go in this vein, whether this implicit Platonism will carry him into the world and out of the family bounds in which, for him, all unified feeling is locked. But this is what is best in him: a secure home base, an expressed sense of emotional nurture, part poverty, part sickness and death, but Jewish to the core.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Three Men on a War

Far on the Ringing Plains, by George Rodger. New York: The Macmillan Company. 295 pages. $3.
They Shall Not Sleep, by Leland Stowe. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 399 pages. $3.
The Road Back to Paris, by A. J. Liebling. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 300 pages. $3.

KAISER'S SHIPS and war correspondents' books are the mass-production miracles of this war. Some critics, surveying the latter field, have professed to find, as its chief characteristic, a certain deadly sameness. The fact is, though, that there are distinct types of correspondents' books—that when transformed by exotic circumstances (as Rodger's book), or the author's personality (as Liebling's), or when grounded in passionate liberal conviction (as Leland Stowe's), they can be considerably more than a rehash of year-old news dispatches.

Three types of correspondents' books are represented, at superior levels, by the volumes under consideration here. Rodger's "Far on the Ringing Plains" is in the venerable journalistic tradition of personal-adventure "stunt" reporting. Stowe's "They Shall Not Sleep" represents serious military-political reporting at its most thoughtful and responsible best. Liebling's "The Road Back to Paris" and its blissfully casual author are a type unto themselves.

Few correspondents have written "odysseys" with as much justification as George Rodger, Life photographer, who spent twenty-two months exploring the byways of global war with gun and camera. His story of his 6,000-mile trans-Sahara journey by Chevrolet truck—part of it on the heels of Leclerc's amazing march north from Lake Chad, through desert never before crossed by a motor vehicle—vividly records a unique exploit. Subsequently Rodger photographed the liquidation of Mussolini's East African empire (capturing five Italian prisoners at the point of a Leica), the British-Russian occupation of Iran and the Syrian, Libyan and Burmese campaigns. The reader closes his book with ungrudging admiration for the endurance of one photo reporter and several Chevrolet trucks.

The admittedly "noncommittal" Rodger, an Englishman, apparently saw no explanation for the precipitous Burmese disaster in complacent imperialism. Stowe, in contrast, found Burma a story of fantastic civil and military incompetence—of the smoldering hatred of a colonial people for their exploiters. Imperialism, he says, is ultimately as debilitating to the rulers as to the ruled. "If I saw anything in Burma, I saw retribution—and a warning." India was "Burma all over again"—wide-open for Japanese invasion that never came. China, again, was disquieting. Stowe found the Kuomintang running a police state—concentration camps and all. And uncontrolled smuggling of luxury goods had reduced the Burma Road's war contribution by two-thirds.

Stowe's disturbing critical reports on our allies are made—almost reluctantly—in the sincere conviction that the "clouding of political and social realities" can only endanger our "definitely uncertain chances of winning the peace." In a final section Stowe puts into eloquent words the concern of all liberals over the possibility that Churchill imperialism and State Department Darlanism may cost us our moral leadership of the world's awakening peoples.

Stowe says some extremely reasonable things about Russia too. "A nation which has sacrificed the lives of from fifteen to twenty million of its soldiers and civilians . . . and has emerged triumphant . . . can scarcely fail to be conscious of its stature. Such a nation commands respect and deserves an exceptional effort at understanding." We had better make that effort, says Stowe, for "if we can not live with Russia, there can be no peace . . ."

A. J. Liebling is a lover of France, a student of her medieval literature, and a one-war correspondent. When The New Yorker's editor decided in September, 1939, that the Paris phase of the new World War "ought to be covered as thoroughly as a Schiapparelli opening," Liebling got the job. Until then, by his own admission, his only friends were prizefighters' seconds, romance philologists, horse clockers and assorted Broadway characters. But for all his wry self-deprecation, Liebling proved an auspicious choice. His reëvocation of the bittersweet taste of that fatal spring in Paris is a beautifully sensitive job.

Liebling went on to cover England, an Atlantic convoy and the North African invasion, as probably the most unstrenuous correspondent on record. "Where do you hope to land at?" a colleague asked as they embarked for North Africa. "Someplace where resistance has ceased," Liebling told him honestly.

Liebling's battlefront *modus operandi* was simple: "I never really interviewed anybody, just lived around the place and learned by osmosis." His method is wonderfully successful in catching the way American privates and Norwegian seamen and London civil-defense workers act and talk—in conveying "the feel of war" on a westbound tanker or a Tunisian airfield.

RICHARD MATCH

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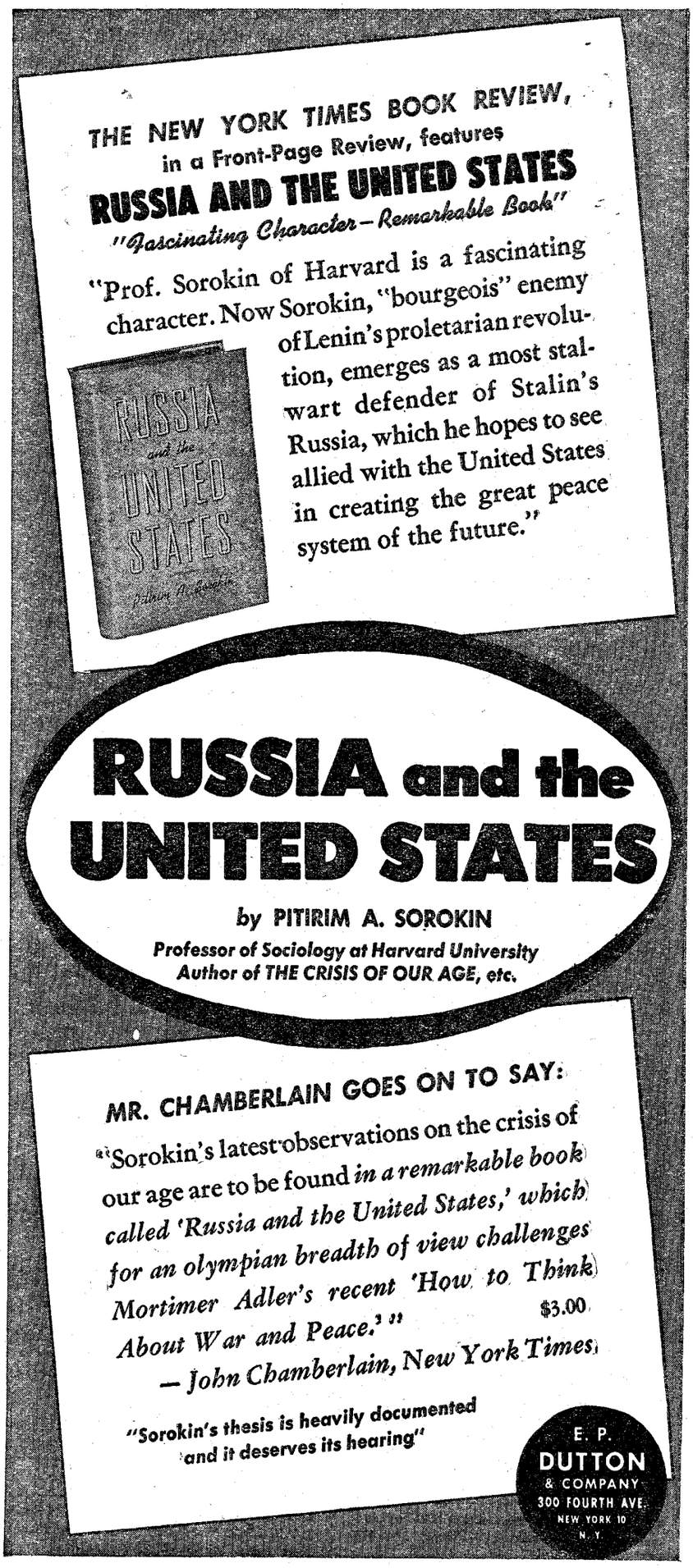
A Reader's List

THE ROAD TO TEHERAN, by Foster Rhea Dulles (Princeton, $2.50). In this scholarly history of relations between Russia and the United States from 1781 to 1943, the author says that the two countries have never been declared enemies because threats to their interests arose in the same quarters, and declares: "The road which has led to Teheran should in the future link Washington and Moscow even more closely." The facts given reveal, however, that in the past considerations of national self-interest have not proved sufficiently strong to promote constructive coöperation. Is our State Department fundamentally more enlightened than it was in April, 1917, when United States Ambassador Francis cabled Washington: "Extreme socialist or anarchist named Lenin making violent speeches and thereby strengthening [Provisional] government; designedly giving him leeway and will deport opportunely"? Mr. Dulles' excellent documentation of his thesis forces us to conclude that a large part of the road to Teheran was paved with good intentions.

FOOD FOR EUROPE AFTER VICTORY (National Planning Association, Pamphlet No. 29, 25 cents). According to the newest Washington reliable sources, the UNRRA program is being sidetracked none too subtly by competing agencies. This pamphlet, therefore, is peculiarly timely at the present moment. The chief point of its highly factual and down-to-earth story is that the time to prepare to feed a starved Europe is now. This vast job, it is implied, can be handled best by a single agency such as UNRRA, which has a perspective much broader than is apparent in the older and more conservative government bodies. The major problem will be the restoration of a devastated European agricultural economy, and until that is fully accomplished at least 9,000,000 tons of relief food will have to be sent to the Continent. The problem seems huge and perhaps insuperable, yet it is a challenge that the United Nations cannot avoid. It appears somewhat fantastic, therefore, for Congress to propose to limit American participation in the UNRRA program.

THE WAGNER-MURRAY-DINGELL BILL, by Harvey LeBrun (American Association for Social Secu-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rity, Inc. 25 cents). This short pamphlet, a reprint from Social Security Magazine, is a handy reference guide to the main features of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell social-security bill soon to be debated in Congress, and its arrangement and treatment make it especially useful for classroom study. In the main, it contains a concise, comprehensive explanation of eligibility, benefits, financing and administration. Separate sections analyze the principal features of the special insurance programs prepared. The health measures—the most important from many points of view—are accorded more extended consideration than amendments to the current social-security bill or liberalization of present insurance programs.

THIRTEEN AGAINST THE ODDS, by Edwin R. Embree (Viking, $2.75). This book tells the story of thirteen American Negroes who have attained success despite shocking prejudice and discrimination. The author writes: "Success against the odds is the American ideal. Pioneering is our tradition. . . . Brown Americans are the modern pioneers." These Americans, moreover, have had not only to surmount natural obstacles, but also those created by their fellow men. For instance, it is ironical that George Washington Carver was forced to use the freight elevator to reach the assembly room in Montgomery, Alabama, to address the United Peanut Associations. The biographies include Mary McLeod Bethune, Richard Wright, Charles S. Johnson, Walter White, Langston Hughes, Marian Anderson, W. E. B. Du Bois, Mordecai W. Johnson, William Grant Still, A. Philip Randolph, Joe Louis and Paul Robeson.

Crime and Punishment

EMBARRASSMENT OF RICHES, by Marjorie Fischer (Random, $2). It's an ill will that blows no good, but for quite a while it looks as if the $2,400,000 a young Frenchman leaves his friend Hal Johnson may be the death of him. For the will provides that the bulk of the inheritance is to go to the Free French movement, and the Nazis are interested—highly. Mrs. Fischer's first book in this field is a honey, with credible and likable characters, amusing dialogue and lots of suspense. An auspicious debut.

THE OUTSIDER, by Irene Cleaton (Little, Brown, $2). Edinburgh of the 1820's gives a cold welcome to charming Lucetta Linton, recently orphaned, who comes from England to the grim household of her uncle, Lord Advocate of Scotland. Two murders in the family circle, plus the added horror of body-snatching, create a compelling mood of terror and suspicion. A good period piece which owes no little to the studies of that Scots connoisseur of murder, William Roughead.

E. H.

Contributors

Lucille B. Milner, an Alabaman, has been secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union since 1920. She has contributed to Harpers, The New Republic and other periodicals.

Michael Young, British journalist and publicist, is on the staff of Political and Economic Planning.

Cpl. William Zeitung is twenty-two years old and a graduate of Dartmouth College, where he majored in art and literature and was managing editor of The Jack-O'Lantern. He is in the Technical Training Command of the Army Air Forces, working on public relations.

F. O. Matthiessen is professor of History and Literature at Harvard University and the author of several books, the latest of which is "American Renaissance." He is completing a new book, "Henry James: The Major Phase."

Richard Match, a native of Brooklyn, is twenty-three years old. He studied writing at New York University's Washington Square writing center and contributes reviews to The New York Times, The New York Herald Tribune and The New Republic.

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